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WHAT OTHERS SAY OF US

I am glad to find the Journal is published regularly.

T. N. SREEKANTAIYA
Professor of Kannada
Karnataka University
Dharwar.

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The
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Mythic Society

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EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES

By P.B.Desai

Of the inscriptions edited in the *Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍaḷa Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4, some were received for examination in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. I had an occasion to study them there in the originals. Since the published versions of these records contain errors in their readings as well as interpretations, I think it would be worth-while to point out some of them here.[1]

Panjim Copper Plates of Kadamba Jayakesin I
(pp. 27 ff.)

The published text on page 37, lines 35-36 reads as follows: *Kēsi* (*śi*)*rājāhva*(?)*rakṣāṇāṁ yōbhūt-prativa*(*ba*)*lō va* (*ba*) *lī* ||. With this reading the first compound expression in the above phrase yields no sense. The *akṣara* bearing the question mark is *ṅga* and not *hva*. Hence the expression should read thus

1. I am indebted to the Government Epigraphist for India, for his kind permission to consult the photographs or impressions of the original inscriptions preserved in the above office. No facsimiles of the epigraphs are published in the issue of the "Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁs'odhaka Maṇḍaḷa Quarterly" mentioned above.

correctly : *Kēsi(śi)rāj-āṅgarakṣāṇāṁ yōbhūt-prativa(ba)lō va (ba) lī* ||. This would show that the donee Chhaḍama was in charge of protecting the king's person, testifying to his trustworthiness.

In line 42 on page 38 it seems necessary to read the words, *Bhairavāḥ pāṁgē gadyāṇakāḥ*, together for yielding the proper sense. We have further to take into account the analogous expression *Bhairav-āhvayāḥ niṣkāḥ* occurring in the same context in the previous verse (lines 41-42). The term *niṣka* had, long before this time, lost its original significance and was being used in the general sense of a gold coin; [2] and the qualifying word *Bhairavāhvayāḥ* here evidently refers to the Kadamba coins bearing the legend *Malege Bhairava.* [3] *Gadyāṇa* or *gadyāṇaka* again was a gold coin prevalent in parts of South India. It is mentioned in the Kadamba coinage also. [4] Thus it seems reasonable to assume the identity of *Bhairava niṣka* with *Bhairava gadyāṇaka* in the passage under reference. Now we have to explain the term *pāṁgē* preceding the word *gadyāṇaka.* This can be done in two ways. In the first instance, *pāṁgē* can be connected with the Kannaḍa expression *pāṁgē* meaning 'form or shape.' Rendered freely, *Bhairavāḥ pāṁgē gadyāṇakāḥ* would mean *gadyāṇakas of the Bhairava type.* We may note in this context that there were other categories of Kadamba coins, such as *Malavaramāri niṣkas.* [5] Or else, *pāṁgē* may be a mistake for *poṁge* derived from *pon.* In the inscriptions of Karnāṭaka [6] the name *gadyāṇa* is sometimes prefixed by the word *pon* meaning 'gold', evidently denoting its

2. D.R. Bhandarkar; *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics,* Calcutta, 1921. pp. 181-82.

3. *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* Vol. IX (1950), pp. 88-89. For the word *niṣka* in the Kadamba coinage see *op. cit.* p. 90.

4. G.M. Moraes : *Kadamba Kula,* p. 331.

5. *Journal of the Numismatic Society (op. cit.),* p. 90.

6. See for instance the expression *poṁ-gadyāṇa* occurring in line 83 of the Iṭagi inscription; *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol.XIII,p.49. We may incidentally note the word *Lokki-gadyāṇa* mentioned in the same line, which the editor of the inscription, L.D. Barnett, has failed to recognise. The words should be correctly represented as *koṭṭa Lokki-gadyāṇa* and not *koṭṭal-okki gadyāṇa* as Barnett has done. For the interpretatiou of the expression *Lokki-gadyāṇa* see *S.I.I.* Vol. XI,Pt. II, Introduction, p.vi.

gold content. If this interpretation be correct, the term *pāṁgē* (*poṁge*) *gadyāṇaka* would only be a modified version of the expression *pon-gadyāṇa*.

AMBE-JOGAI INSCRIPTION OF UDAYADITYA: S'AKA 1066 (pp. 57 ff.)

Elsewhere [7] I have outlined the development of the tāntric cult in the central and southern parts of mediæval India and noted a few references to it in the inscriptions. The antiquities of the place [8] including the epigraphical allusion to the existence of a temple dedicated to Yōgēs'varī, [9] go to show that Āṁbē-jōgāī was an important seat of Tāntricism. The record under review lends further confirmation to this observation. According to the Tāntric school Matsyēndranātha, its founder is the incarnation of S'iva [10] and the deity Kāmākhyā is familiarly represented as the female counterpart of the god.[11] Thus it seems we are justified in identifying Bhūcaranātha of the present epigraph with Matsyēndranātha who was by this time deified and worshipped.[12] Ratnadēva, decribed as a bee in the lotus feet of Bhūcaranātha and the *guru*,[13] might be a teacher belonging to the *Nātha* school.

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7. 'Tāntric cult in Epigraphs': *Jour. Of. Or. Res.* Madras. Vol. XIX. pp. 285 ff.

8. *Arch. Surv. of West India*: Vol.III, pp. 50-51 and *B I.S.M. Quarterly* (*op. cit*), p. 60. It is worthy of note that the epigraph under review was found in a cave known as 'Yōgini's cave'.

9. G.H. Khare: *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Dekkan* (Marāṭhi), Vol. I. (1930), p.75.

10. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, (Ed.P.C. Bagchi, 1934, Calcutta), Introduction, p. 8. At Amarkantak there is a temple dedicated to Matsyēndranātha; *Arch. Surv. Memoir* No. 23, Plate XV.

11. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*: *op. cit*: Intro. p. 35. Dr. Dikshit has taken Kāmākhyā to be the name of a field, which can hardly be correct. The expression *Kāmākhyē* in line 5 is the accusative singular of *Kāmākhyā* and signifies that this deity also was recipient of a gift.

12. Bhūcaranātha is referred to simply as Natha in lines 4-5 of the inscription.

13. The syntax at this stage in the original is faulty. It is clear from the context that Ratnadēva was a devotee of Bhūcaranātha and the *guru* of Udayāditya.

The influence of Tāntricism can also be traced in the imprecatory expression of the record. The violators of the benefactions are threatened herein with the punishment of the adamantine rod of the yōginīs.[14]

The expression *kāmatu* (in line 5) appears to have been derived from the Sanskrit word *Karmānta*. An early instance of the use of *karmānta* may by traced in an inscription of the sixth century.[15] The word occurs as *kammatta* in the Kannaḍa inscriptions of the mediæval period and we find its variants in the Telugu and other languages too. While describing the gifts of land the letter *ga* is mentioned more than once. This cannot be an abbreviation of *gavyūti* as Dr. Dikshit has suggested; for *gavyūti*, in the first instance, is a linear measurement denoting a distance of 4,000 *daṇḍas* or two *krōśas*, according to the lexicographer; and secondly, epigraphical usage of the expression in the context of land measure has not been met with so far. Since the letter *ga* generally stands for *gadyāṇa*, we may interpret it likewise in this case also, taking the specified number of *gadyāṇas* in each case to represent the revenue assessment of the piece of land.[16]

SANGLI MUSEUM COPPER PLATES OF KRISHNADEVARAYA OF VIJAYANAGARA (pp.73 ff.)

Dr. Dikshit's statement identifying the place Beṇṇekallu of the record (line 96) with the modern village Beṇṇekallu is not accurate, for the modern name of the village is Beṇkal[17] and not Beṇṇekallu. Furthermore, his description of the place as having been situated in the hilly tract and containing numerous dolmens in the adjoining

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14. Prominent role is assigned to the yōginīs in the Tāntric school; *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* : *op. cit.* Intr. p. 35.

15. 'Kēsaribēḍa Plates of Nala Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka', *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVIII. pp. 12 ff, text line 7, *dhruva-karmmāntarambhaiḥ*.

16. I may offer an alternative suggestion also, though not with much certainty. The letter *ga* may stand for *gaḷe* which might be equivalent of the Sanskrit *hala*, meaning 'the extent of land tilled by two bullocks in a day. The expression *gaḷe* is met with sometime in the inscriptions of Karnāṭaka, particularly in the northern parts.

17. Being a native of this village, I am familiar with it and also with the area near about. Subsequently I have surveyed the antiquities of almost all these places.

forest (p. 76) is farther from truth. There is another village of the name Beṇkal in the Gangāvati *taluk* which answers to the above description and Dr. Dikshit has evidently confused the two. A perusal of the reference to the Hyderabad Archæological Report cited by Dr. Dikshit himself makes this clear.

Next we may note that the place Arasikere mentioned in line 88 of the inscription has not been identified by Dr. Dikshit. This must be the modern village Arakēri about three miles away from Beṇkal. An inscription of the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III was discovered here.[18] Again we see an error and omission in the reading and identification of the place *Kātarivē* (*bē*) *ṭegaṁ* (line 93). The correct reading should be *Kātarivēṭegaṁ*, of which Kātari constitutes the main part of the name. Kātari is the same as the modern village Kātarki situated in the vicinity of Kopbal. It is still called *pēṭhā* which is reminiscent of its earlier description as *vēṭe* in the record under review.

Lastly, we have to consider the situation of the grant village Niṭāla which is modern Niṭṭāli. This village as stated in the epigraph under study was included in the Paḍuva Nāḍaka (*i.e.* Nāḍu). An earlier form of the name is Niṭṭārave which is found in an inscription at Iṭagi of the twelfth century.[19] The village, as known from other records, was situated in the small tract of Kukkanūr-Thirty which formed part of the well-known territorial unit Beḷvala Three Hundred.[20] From this it appears that the administrative units in the Vijayanagara regime were different from those in the earlier period.

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18. This record has been edited by me in my book on *Jainism in South India* under publication.

19. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIII. pp. 59 ff. In line 93 of this record the name Niṭṭārave occurs, but it is wrongly read as Niḍḍigāve by L. D. Barnett. In an unpublished copper plate inscription of the area dated 1379 A.C. the text of which is in my collection, the village-name is spelt both as Niṭṭārave and Niṭṭāra. The latter form evidently is the precursor of Niṭṭāla of the record under scrutiny.

20. This is known from the inscriptions at Kukanūr of my collection. It is interesting to note that old records preserved in this area furnish the specific names of all the thirty villages included in the subdivision of Kukkanūr-Thirty.

LARGEST PROVINCIAL ORGANISATIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA *

By K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, B.A.

THE inscription noticed hereunder is engraved on the northern wall of the first *prākāra* of the Tiruvikrama Peṟumāḷ temple at Tirukoilur in Tirukoilur taluk, South Arcot district. It is registered as No. 117 in the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1900 and its text in Tamil is given in the South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts), Volume VII under General No. 129.

TEXT

1. Hari[ḥ]Svasti S'rī [II*] S'rīmatām Bhūmiputrāṇām s'rīmat gō-kshīrajīvinām [1*] Sarvvalōkahitan nyāyyam chitramēḷa(m)sya s'āsanam [II*] Jīyatām jagatām-ētat pālanam rāshtra-pōshaṇa-
2. m [I*] S'āsanam Bhūmi-putrāṇā(m)ñ=chātu[r*]vvarṇ-ṇa-kulōtbhavam-S'rī-Bhūmi-dēvikku makkaḷ-āgi nigaḷa =*chchentamiḻ vaḍa-kalai terind=uṇarndu nīti kēṭṭu nipuṇar-āgi* naṟu-malar vāḍā tTi-
3. rumagaḷ pudalvar ettis'aikkum viḷakkāga iṉ-s'ollāl-iṉid-aḷittu vaṉ-s'ollāl maṟañ=kaḍindu i-chchatus-sāgara-parimaṇḍalattu chandrādittavaraiy=iṉid=ōṅga Vātarā-saṉ kāṟṟ-a-
4. s'aippa Varuṇarās'aṉ nīṟ=ṟeḷippa Dēvarās'aṉ tis'ai-viḷakka e-ttis'ai-magaḻirum=iṉidu vīṟṟ=iruppa=tteṅ-gum palāvum=tē-māñ=chōlaiyum vāḻaiyuṅ=kamu-gum vaḷar-koḍi-
5. mullaiyum[pū]vaiyuṅ=ki[ḻḻai]yum polivoḍuṅ=keḷumi vāṭṭam=iṉṟi=kkūṭṭam perugiy=*aṟam vuḷara=kkali meliya*=ppugaḻ peruga=ppu[r]ai paṇiya=ttis'aiy=aṉaittuñ=chevidu paḍā-

* Continued from Vol. XLV, Page 47

6. mal s'eṅ-kōlē muṉṉ-āgavuñ=chitra(t)mēḻiyē deyvam-āgavuñ=chem-poṟ-pas'um paiyē vēliy-āgavum kshamaiyiṉōḍuṅ=karuṇaiy=eydi =chchamaiya-daṉmam=iṉidu naḍātti nigaḻāniṉ-

7. ṟa uttama-nītiv-uyar-peruṅ-kīrtti Muttamiḻmālai muluvadum-uṇarnda chittir amēḻi=pperiya-nāṭṭōm vaittukkuḍutta paris'āvadu [II*] Milāḍ-āgiya Jaṉaṉāda-vaḷanāṭṭu-kkuṟukkai-

8. kkūṟṟattu Tirukkōvalu[r*] Eḻupatt-oṉbadu-nāṭṭu=ppadiṉen bhūmi=chchittiramēḻi-viṉṉagar-āṉa Tiruviḍaikaḻiniṉṟaruḷiṉa Perumāḷ-kōyil aṉādiy-āga mēḻittōraṇamum S'rī-Bhūmidēvi-

9. yum pratishṭhai-paṇṇi muṉbē nam dharmmamāy=ppōdugaiyil i=nnāyaṉāṟkku muṉbu nām vaittukkuḍutta vaippuñ=chamaippuñ=cheḍiyum mugamum chādaṉamum rāshṭra kshēbhaṅgaḷi-

10. le kai tappugaiyil muṉbu vaittukuḍutta paḍiyē āṭṭaikku kuṟuṇi nellum vēṟṟāḷ=uṭppaḍappeṟa vaittukkuḍuttōm Eḻupa.[46]

TRANSLATION

We, the members of the *Citramēḻi-Periyanāḍu* (*i.e.* the Provincial Agricultural Organisation); who are the children of the glorious earth-goddess, who had studied and understood[47] the fine Tamil (language) and Sanskrit (*Vaḍakalai*); who have attentively heard[48] the Science of Polity[49] (expounded) and have acquired proficiency[50] in it; who are the sons of the goddess of prosperity that wears a garland of never fading fragrant flowers; who shed light

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46. A few letters are wanting at the end of the inscription. These letters may be "*Ilompadu nāttu-ppadiṉeṉ-vishayattōm.*"

47. *Terind-uṇarndu* relates to understanding and feeling.

48. *Nīti* is the Science of Polity.

49. *Kēṭṭu* has reference to attending discourses on the science, not merely hearing. Study or hear the expositions of competent scholars.

50. As in the Uttaramallūr inscriptions *nipuṇarāgi* is used in the sense of having the skill to apply what has been learnt.

in all directions like lamps; who with kind words afford protection to the good and with harsh words, remove the wicked;[51] who have mastered fully the *Muttamiḻmālai*, a famous work embodying the highest principles of the Science of Polity; justly conducted the *samaya dharma* (the business of the assembly) with patience and sympathy, setting before us the sceptre of the king, respecting the plough (*chitramēḻi*) as our god, and having *s'empoṟ-pas'umpai* as our bound, so that the people of all the quarters surrounded by the oceans might live in peace and happiness as long as the moon and the sun endure, that Vātarāja (the king of the wind), might waft fine breeze, Varuṇarāja (the king of rain) might shower (timely) water, Dēvarāja (the king of gods) might shed (his) lustre on all the quarters: that cocoanuts and jack trees as well as groves of mangoes bearing sweet fruits, plantains and areca palms together with the entwining jasmine creepers might grow luxuriantly, that birds of fine plumage such as *pūvai* and *kiḷḷai* might, gathering together, without want, increase in multitude,[52] that virtue might prosper, *kali* (*i.e.* sin) might fade away,[53] fame spread and enemity might be subdued.[54] To the temple of Eḷupattoṉbadu-nāṭṭu-Padiṉeṉ Bhūmi-cittiramēḻi-Viṉṉagar *alias* Tiruviḍaikkaḻi-niṉṟaruḷiya-Perumāḷ at Tirukkōvalūr in Kuṟukkai kkūṟṟam of Malāḍu *alias* Jananāth-Vaḷanādu, which had received the arch of the plough (*meḻittōraṇam*) and has been left under our protection, Bhūmidēvī having been consecreated by us, we made the following endowment: as the gifts made by us to this temple in former years had been lost along with the edicts relating thereto, during invasions, we have now ordered that, one *padakku* of paddy on each plough, and on *kuruṇi* of paddy for every individual, shall be paid as had been formerly decreed by us.

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51. *Iṉidu* and *maṟam*. The use of the verbs *aḻi* and *kaḍi* suggest that they denote here the concrete and are not abstract nouns.

52. Here *kūṭṭam* has no reference to assembly. The birds having plenty to eat and having no care for their food, increase manifold.

53. The antonyms *Iṉidu* and *maṟam*, as well as *aṟam*, and *kali* are sometimes used as abstract and sometime as concrete nouns.

54. *Purai* seems to be incorrectly written for *pagai* which occurs in another inscription.

III

No. 198 of S. I. I. Vol. VIII. (A. R. No. 601 of 1902)

This inscription is engraved on a slab built into the floor of the entrance of the Vis'vēs'vara temple at Aṉbil in the Lalgudi taluk of the Trichinopoly district. It introduces several groups of corporate bodies and states that they met together without any deficiency (in the number required to form the quorum) at Kōlakkārar Karpaganallūr and made a *vyavastha* (portion damaged) for the better maintenance of the temple of Amudamoḻip-perumāḷ-Paḷḷi at Tiruviḍaikkuḍi in Poygai-nāḍu, a subdivision of Rājarāja-vaḷanādu. It is dated in the nineteenth year of the reign of Rājarāja and the details of date given, *viz. Kumbha, s'u. 5*, Thursday, *Rēvati* have been found by the late Professor Kielhorn to work out correctly for A.D. 1235, January 25. The several rural assemblies mentioned are:

(i) **The Provincial Administrative and Agricultural Assembly** called *Citramēḻi-Periyanāḍu*, with the introduction *Uttama nīti uyar perum kīrtti Muttamiḻmālai muḻumaiyum-uṇarnda* meaning that the members have mastered the science of polity as contained in the famous work *Muttamiḻmālai*.

(ii) The group termed **Nāngu dis'ai Padineṉ bhūmi-Dēsi-Dis'ai-viḷaṅgu-Dis'ai Āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar** (the *Dis'ai 1500* of the *Eighteen Districts* of the *four quarters*). This assembly is the same as the one mentioned in No. 291 noticed above and is identical with the *Nagarattār* (Merchants).

(iii) A body of **Nāṭṭu-Ceṭṭis, Dēvaḷa-Ceṭṭis** and **Jayapālas.** This, it will be noticed later, figures in another inscription, as a distinct group.

(iv) A body formed of 64 *muṉai* **(men of the army)**, *muṉai-vīrakkoḍiyār* **(flag-bearers of the army)**, *Pēr-arum-chiṟappar* (the **highly exalted**) and *s'iṟappuḍai-kalaṉai* (the **distinguished of the mixed caste**), described as our sons (*nam-makkaḷ*).

By the wording, the second group may refer to traders whose activities are perhaps confined to the limits of a province which

consisted of eighteen districts. The third may refer to inland trading corporations or caravan traders visiting distant countries (*nāḍu*) and doing business there.[55] The fourth includes men of the army, flag-bearers, men of distinction and those of the *anulōma* caste engaged in different kinds of industries.

TEXT

1 Svasti S'rī [II*] Uttama-nīti uyar-pe-
2 rum-kīrtti Muttamiḻmāli muḻu-
3 mai [yu] [m*] niṟainda chittira-mēḻi-
4 pperi [ya]-nāṭṭōmum Nāṉgu-dis'ai=
5 ppadiṉeṉ-bhūmi-Dēs'i=ddis'ai-viḷaṅgu Di-
6 s'ai [Ā] yiratt-aiññūṟṟuvarōmum
7 pala-maṇḍalattu Nāṭṭu-chcheṭṭiga-
8 ḷ Davaḷa-chcheṭṭigal Jayapālargaḷum
9 nam-makkaḷ aṟupattu-nālu Muṉaiyu [m*] Mu-
10 ṉai-Vīrakkoḍiyā[ru]m Pēr-aruñ-chiṟappā-
11 rum s'iṟappuḍai=kkalaṉaiyārum
12 Kōlakkārar-Kaṟpagakkāvil
13 niṟaivaṟa niṟai[n]du kuṟaivaṟa-kkū-
14 ḍiy-irundu Rājarāja-pperu niravi-
15 yōm [I*] Tiribuvaṉachchakkarava [r*] ttigaḷ
16 s'rī-Rājarājadēvarkku yāṇḍu pat-
17 toṉbadāvadu Kumbha-nāyaṟṟu pū-
18 [r*]va-pakshattu pañchamiyum Viyāḻa-kki-
19 ḻamaiyum peṟṟa Rēvati nāḷ nammi-
20 ḷ-is'aindu vyavasthai paṇṇi
21 ṉapaḍi [I*] Rājarāja-vaḷnāṭṭu Po-
22 ygai-nāṭṭu=tTiruviḍaikkuḍi A-
23 mudmoḻi-pperum-paḷḷikku ivv-I-
24 [ḍai] kkuḍi ūr-aḍaṅgalum muṉbu Rāja-
25 . . . . yamāy niṉra nāḷ-varaiyum iṟai
26 . . . . . ṉṉu pūjaiyum tiruppaṇi [yu] -
27 . . . . . . s'elutti-pponda........

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55. *Palamaṇḍalathu.*

No. 291 of S.I.I. Volume VIII (A.R. No. 21 of 1903)

This inscription is engraved on the western wall of the Sukhāsina Perumāḷ temple at Tiṭṭaguḍi in the Vriddhacalam taluk of the South Arcot district. The first part of the introduction refers to the Provincial Assembly in charge of Administration and Agriculture, with a Sanskrit verse followed by a short Tamil passage :

S'rīmat Bhūmi suputrasya cāturvarṇya kulōtbhavam,
Sarvalōka-hitārthāya Citramēḷasya S'āsanam ||

Eḻupattoṉbadu-nāṭṭu uttamanīti uyar peruṅkīrtti Muttamiḻ-Mālai muḻumaiyum niṟainda chittiramēḻi-pperiyanāṭṭōm.

The introduction makes it clear that the Provincial Agricultural Assembly (*Cittiramēḻi-Periyanāṭṭōm*) had for its jurisidiction 79 divisions, that its members belonged to all the four castes and were fully equipped with a knowledge of a highly renowned work called *Muttamiḻmālai* on the *Nīti S'āstra.*

Next is mentioned a body of 1500 persons who hailed from several parts of the country that were included in *Eighteen Bhūmi.* They are called *Nāṉgu-dis'ai Padiṉeṉ-bhūmi-Dēs'i-dis'ai-viḷaṅgu Dis'ai-Āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar.* From the body of the inscription it is learnt that this assembly with its long descriptive name is one of *Nagarattār, i.e.* merchants.

The inscription is dated in the fourth year of the reign of the Cōḷa king Rājādhirāja II. The details of date given, *viz. Simha, s'u.* 13, Monday, *Satabhishaj*, point to A.D. 1168, August 19, Monday. The *tithi* was *s'u.* 14, which ended at .44 of day and not *s'u* 13.

The inscription records that both the assemblies having met in the Nāṉūṟṟuvaṉ-maṇḍapa in the courtyard of the Viṣṇu temple of Eḻupattoṉbadunāṭṭu-Viṉṉagara-Emberumān situated on the western side of the village of Tiṭṭaikuḍi *alias* Tirucciṟṟambala-caturvēdi-maṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* of Mēṟkā-nāḍu, a subdivision of Vaḍagarai-Virudarāja-*bhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu*, set up the shrine of S'rī-Bhūmippirāṭṭiyār in the sacred courtyard, invested it with the ornamental arch of the *plough* and, provided for the god, which was the

dharma of both the bodies *i.e. the Nāḍu* and the *Nagara*, a fund for meeting the expenses of offerings, ornaments, repairs, festivals and other requirements. The provision consisted of an annual payment of one *padakku* of paddy on each plough, one *kuṟuṇi* of paddy by each person, five *kās'u* by each garland maker, two *kās'u* by each one of the servants employed under the two bodies and four *nāḻi* of ghee by every shepherd. It is also provided that the person who goes to demand the payments shall be given one *padakku* and one *kuṟuṇi* of white rice, one *kalam* of *pūri* rice, fifty areca-nuts, two *paṟṟu* of betel leaves, four *nāḻi* of salt, one *uri* of pepper and one *nāḻi* of gingelly oil (as wages). He shall get the fees even by distraining bellmetal vessels and breaking mud vessels. These provisions made for the temple shall not be caused to be destroyed, defaulted or unjustly dealt with.

TEXT

1. Svasti S'rī [II*] Tribhuvanachakravarttigaḷ S'rī Rājādhirājadēvarku yāṇḍu 4-vadu Siṁha-nāyaṟṟu Pūrva-pakshattu traiyōdas'iyum Tiṅgaḷ-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Sadaiya[t*]tu nāḷ [I*] S'rīmat-Bhūmi-suputrasya Chāturvaṇya-

2. kulōtbhavam [I*] sarvva-lōka hitārthāya Chitramēḻasya s'āsanam [II*] Eḻupatt-oṉbadu-nāṭṭu uttama-nīti-uyar-perum-kīrtti Muttamiḻmālai mu[ḻu]maiyum niṟainda Chittiramēḻi-pperiya-nāṭṭōmum Nāṉgu-ti-

3. s'ai-padiṉeṉ-bhūmi Dēs'i-Dis'ai-viḷaṅgu-Dis'ai-Āyiratt-aiññūṟṟuvarōmum Vaḍagarai Virudharājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāṭṭu Mēṟkā-nāṭṭu brahmadēyam Tiṭṭaikuḍiy-āṉa Tiruchchiṟṟambala-chaturvēdimaṅgalattu

4. tiru-mēlai-kōyilāṉa Eḻupattoṉpadu-nāṭṭu-Viṇṇagar Emberumāṉ tirumuṟṟattu Nāṉūṟṟuvaṉ-tirumaṇḍapattilē niṟaivaṟa niṟaindu kuṟaivaṟa=kkūḍi irundu i-ttirumuṟṟattilē s'rī-Bhūmi-ppirāṭṭiyai

5. eḻundaruḷivittu mēḻi-tōraṇamum s'ātti nāṭṭukkum nagarattukkum dharmam-āṉa ivv-Emberumāṉukku amudupaḍi s'āttu-ppaḍigaḷukkum tiruppaṇigaḷukkum tirunāḷ-

6. tēvaigaḷukku muḍalāga vaittukkuḍuttapaḍi [I*] Āṭṭaikku ēṟāl padakku nellum āḷāl kuṟuṇi nellum mālai-kaṭṭi-parimāṟuvār āḷukku aiñju kās'u iḍakkaḍavargaḷ-āgavum [I*]

7. Naṅ-kīḻ paṇimakkaḷ āṭṭaikku iraṇṇḍu kās'u iḍakkaḍavargāḷ-āgavum [I*] nam ūr gōpālar kuḍiyāl āṭṭaikku nānāḻi ney aḷakka=kkaḍavārgaḷ-āgavum [I] Ippaḍi vaittukkuḍuttamaiyi-

8. l idu taṇḍuvārukku pukku ūril veḷḷai-aris'i tūṇi-ppadakkum pūri-aris'i kalamum aimbadu pākkum veṟṟilai paṟṟu iraṇḍum uppù nā-nāḻiyum miḷagu uriyum eḷ-eṇṇai nāḻiyum kuḍu-

9. kkavum [I*] Ippaḍi ivai taṇḍumiḍattu veṇkalam parittum maṇ-kalam taga[r*]tum koḷḷakkaḍavargaḷāgavum [I*] I-ttirumuṟṟattu=ttiruviḍaiyāṭṭaṅgaḷ aḻi piḻai anniyāyam s'eydār nāt.[56]

IV

Alangudi Inscription of Rathakaras

The inscriptions noticed above—Nos. 40, 41 and 47 of *S.I.I.* Volume VI. Nos. 291 and 298 of Volume VIII—related to organisations which had coterminous jurisdiction extending over a wide extent of territory covering 18 districts with 79 subdivisions and innumerable villages and hamlets situated in them. We have now to notice one other organisation of a similar nature. This is the assembly of the Rathakāras. Like the others this has also an introduction which embodies a legendary account about it. Though most of the epigraphs which relate to this body contain only the short title "*aṟuvagai-toḻil nāl-vagai Rathakāras*", meaning 'the Rathakāras of the four classes who followed six kinds of pursuits,' there is only a single inscription in the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* which furnishes a mythical account about it. Though it is very badly damaged, its importance is great for, besides the legendary account, it mentions as many as fourteen districts that were in the province over which the assembly had its jurisidiction. This inscription is engraved on the south wall of the second *prākāra* of the Āpatsahāyēs'vara temple at Ālaṅguḍi in the Nannilam taluk of

56. The end of the inscription is built in.

the Tanjore district and its damaged text is given in Tamil in the South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts), Volume VI, under General No. 439.

The introduction commences with the word "*Upajīvita*" which is the beginning of a damaged Sanskrit verse. The preserved Tamil portion of the text tells us "that the *Rathakāras*, who were of four classes and did six kinds of work, had Ārya-nāḍu as their place of birth and acquired Uttarāpatti: they measured Tavappaḷḷi and obtained by conquest the *makara* flag: they witnessed the dance of Īs'vara, and had, by the favour of (the deity) Kāṭṭāvūr-Ammai, a rain of gold: they were renowned for righteous acquisition of wealth; for prosperity attended with greatness; for flawless family tradition; for power of utterance; for leading a life of fearlessness; for reducing enemies to ashes; for victories gained in all battles undertaken by them; for securing the grace of Dēvēndra and for their extensive fame and progeny. Their industrial pursuits won the admiration of all. Akkasālai and Paḷḷi were in their charge."

The inscription is dated in S'aka 1186 (A.D.1264) and it records that the Rathakāras of the four classes pursuing the six kinds of work, together with the *Samaya Saṅkētins*, assembled in full in the temple of Vaṇḍuvarāpati (-Perumāḷ) at Rājarāja-caturvēdimaṅgalam in S'uttamalli-vaḷanāḍu and carried out a resolution to the effect that an *iṉavari* shall be paid by all persons living in the several districts (mentioned by name) to form a fund from which the expenses of constructing a pavilion called *Muḷudumvallāṉ* which the Rathakāras had undertaken to build in the *Tiruniṟṟuccōḷan-tōppu* at Ālangūdi *alias* Jaṉaṉātha-caturvēdimaṅgalam in Muḍiccōnāḍu, a subdivision of Suttamalli-vaḷanāḍu, in order that the God Āpatsahāyēs'vara may be taken in procession and made to rest there.

The above decision, it is said, was communicated to the *Rathakāras* of the districts (Vaḷanāḍu) as well as the *Saṅkētins* of the *Nāḍu* (subdivisions). The inscription authorises the *Vīra-Māhēs'varas* to realise *iṉavari* and to pay it into the treasury. It is further said that if any one should refuse to pay the fee

(*iṉavari*), his property shall be distrained by the demanding authority.

The signatures of persons bearing the designations *Periyanāṭṭu-Ās'āri*, *Rathakāra-cakravartti*, *Padiṉeṉbhūmi-Rathakāra-cakravartti*, *Kōyil-Kāṇiyuḍaiya-Perundaccaṉ* and *Periyanāṭṭu-Peruntaccaṉ*, *Taṭṭāṉ* etc. are a clear indication that among the four classes of the Rathakāras were goldsmiths and carpenters. In other inscriptions of Rathakāras figure sculptors who owned temple lands (*Kōyil-Kāṇiyuḍaiya-S'irpācāri*). That sculptors had been provided with lands in villages and that their services were utilised by village assemblies for engraving the inscriptions [57] are also known from epigraphs.

This inscription, preserving as it does the names of fourteen districts, gives us a fairly good idea as to the wide extent of the jurisidiction of the provincial Assembly. The fourteen districts are: (1) Arumoḷidēva-vaḷanāḍu, (2) Rājēndras'ōḷa-vaḷanāḍu, (3) Umbar-nāḍu, (4) Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu, (5) Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu, (6) Suttamalli-vaḷanāḍu, (7) Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu, (8) Pāṇḍikulās'aṉi-vaḷanāḍu, (9) .... kulakāla-vaḷanāḍu, (10) Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu, (11) Kōṇāḍu *alias* Kaḍalaḍaiyādilaṅgai-koṇḍas'ōḷa-vaḷanāḍa, (12) Vikkiramas'ōḷa-vaḷanāḍu, (13) Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanādu and (14) Rājarāja-vaḷanādu.

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57. No. 438 of *S.I.I.* Vol. VI. states that that record was incised by by Sañcayan Uḍaiyāṉ *alias* S'iriḷankō Ācharyaṉ, being directed to do so by the Assembly of Ālanguḍi. An inscription of Mannārguḍi (No. 258 of *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII) states that it was written by Baṭṭar Viras'ōḷa-maṇḍala Āchāyaṉ, one of the sculptors (*s'irpi*) owning village land (*Ūrkāṇiyuḍaiya–s'irpaṉ*). The engraver of the Bāhūr plates was a goldsmith (*svarṇakṛit*). He is described as the forehead mark of *uditōdita-kula* and as being well versed in all the S'āstras (*uditōdaya kula tilaka* and *sarva-s'āstra nis'ṇātaḥ*). He bore the name Nṛipatuṅga. He was one of the chief servants of the Pallava family. It is interesting to note that the Vēlūrpāḷayam plates of Nandivarman III were engraved by Cittaya's son who was famous for his skill in engraving. In another place we find that the engraver was a certain Pērayaṉ, a *kāṣṭakāri* (*i.e.* carpenter). He is described as *Sthapathi-kulā vyōmacandra*, a moon in the sky, the family of the *Sthapathis*. He was a resident of Aimmanaiccēri (not Manaiceri) in Kaccippēḍu.

Of these No. (1), Armoḻidēva-vaḷanāḍu, had no less than 11 subdivisions, *viz.* (a) Aḷa-nāḍu, (b) Ārvala-kūṟṟam, (c) Iḍaiyaḷa-nāḍu, (d) Iṅga-Nāḍu, (e) Maṅgala-nāḍu, (f) Neṉmali-nāḍu, (g) Puliyūr-nāḍu, (h) Puraṅkarambai-nāḍu, (i) Takkaḷūr-nāḍu, (j) Valivala-kūṟṟam and (k) Vaṇḍāḷai-Vēḷūr-kūṟṟam.

No. (2) Rājēndras'ōḷa-vaḷanāḍu had (a) Neṉmali-nāḍu, (b) Puraṅkarambai-nāḍu, (c) Iṉṉamambūr-nāḍu, (d) Tirukkaḷumala-nāḍu, (e) Piḍavūr-nāḍu, (f) Poygai-nāḍu and (g) Paṉaiyur-nāḍu.

No (4) Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu had in it Tiruvārūr-kūṟṟam.

No. (5) Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu had in it the subdivisions (a) Ākkūr-nāḍu, (b) Āmbūr-nāḍu, (c) Kurumbūr-nāḍu, (d) Marugal-nāḍu, (e) Pāmbura-nāḍu, (f) Tiraimūr-nāḍu, (g) Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu, (h) Tiruvaḷundūr-nāḍu, (i) Veṇṇāḍu and (j) Viḷai-nāḍu.

No. (6) Suttamalli-vaḷanāḍu had in it Pāmbuṇi-kūṟṟam and Veṇṇi-kūṟṟam.

No. (7) Nittavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu had in it (a) Āvūr-kūṟṟam, (b) Kāndāra-nāḍu, (c) Karambai-nāḍu, (d) Kiḷār-kūṟṟam, (e) Muḍiccōṇaḍu, (f) Nallūr-nāḍu, (g) Pāmbuṇi-kūṟṟam, (h) Poyir-kūṟṟam, (i) Veṇṇi-kūṟṟam, and (j) Vīras'ōḷa-Vaḷanāḍu.

No. (8) Pāṇḍikulāsa'ṉi-vaḷanāḍu contained in it the subdivisions (a) Ārkāṭṭu-kūṟṟam, (b) Eyi-nāḍu, or Erisūr-nāḍu, (c) Idaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu, (d) Kiḷiyūr-nāḍu, (e) Kīḻseṅgiḷi-nāḍu, (f) Kiḻ-sūdi-nāḍu, (g) Mīy-Sēṅgiḷi-nāḍu, (h) Mīyvaḷi-nāḍu, or Mīypoḷi-nāḍu, (i) Panaṅ-gāḍu-nāḍu, (j) Tañjāvūr-kūṟṟam, (k) Puṉṟūr-kūṟṟam, (l) Puṟak-kiḷiyūr-nāḍu, (m) Suṇḍaimūlai-nāḍu, (n) Vaḍa-Kavira-Nāḍu (o) Vaḍa Siruvāy ('vāyil)-nāḍu, and (p) Viḷā-nāḍu.

If by No. (9) is meant Jayasiṅgakulakāla-vaḷanāḍu, it had in it (a) Kulamaṅgala-nāḍu, (b) Teṉ-Kavira Nāḍu, and (c) Mī-Seṅgiḷi-nāḍu.

No. (10) Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu had in it the subdivisions (a) Kurunagai-nāḍu, (b) Sūralūr-kūṟṟam, (c) Uṟaiyūr-kūṟṟam and (d) Tirupparāytturai.

No. (11) Kōṉāḍu *alias* Kaḍalaḍaiyādilaṅgaikoṇḍas'ōḷa-vaḷanāḍu had in it seven subdivisions called (a) Aṇṇalvāyil-kūṟṟam, (b) Kūḍalūr-nāḍu, (c) Kuṉṟiyūr or Kuṉṟis'ūḷ-nāḍu, (d) Ollaiyūr-kūṟṟam, (e) Uṟattūr-kūṟṟam, (f) Vaḍa-S'iruvāyil-nāḍu and (g) Vayalaga-nāḍu.

No. (12) Vikkiramas'ōḷa-vaḷanāḍu had in it Miṟai-kūṟṟam.

No. (13) Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu had Maṇṇi-nāḍu, Miḻalai-nāḍu, Nallāṟṟūr-nāḍu and Kuṟukkai-nāḍu.

No. (14) Rājagambīra-vaḷanāḍu contained Tiruvindaḷūr-nāḍu, Tirukkaḻumala-nāḍu, Kurukkai-nāḍu and Maṇṇi-nāḍu.

Though the present inscription furnishes a somewhat lengthy account about the Rathakāras, it does not specify who the four classes were and what the six kinds of work which they pursued were. On these questions, two inscriptions throw some light and we note them here. The social status, profession and privileges of the classes of people included in the Rathakāras having perhaps been called in question, the matter had to be settled by a body of learned men and their finding had to be engraved on stone and copper in the thirteenth century A.D. One of these inscriptions is found at Tiruvālūr in the Tanjore district and the other at Uyyokkoṇḍān Tirumalai in the Trichinopoly district. The latter record has been noticed by Krishna Sastri in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1909. p. 95f. This inscription is dated in the forty-eighth year of the reign of Tribhuvanacakravartiṉ Kulōttuṅga-Cōḷa (taken to be Kulōttuṅga I). It lays down the profession to be followed by the *Anulōma* class called Rathakāra who is described as the son of a *Māhiṣya* by a *Karaṇī* woman. The following are the means of livelihood prescribed for him—architecture, building coaches and chariots, erecting *gōpuras* of temples with images on them, making instruments for use in sacrificial ceremonies, building *maṇḍapams* and making jewels for kings such as diadems, bracelets etc. One of the authorities quoted states that the Rathakāra is entitled to *upanayana*, *ijya*, *ādhāna* and another forbids him from performing *agnihōtra*, *aupāsana* and *pañcamahāyajña*. *Upanayana* of the Rathakāra, it is said, has to be performed without quoting *mantras*. Mr. Krishna

Sastri has noted that the Rathakāra class existed even in Vēdic times; and I may add that *Anuvāka* 4 of *Rudraprasna* besides mentioning Rathakāras contains some of the names of the *Anulōma* classes such as Kulāla, Karmāra, Niṣāda, Takṣa, etc.

From the Uyyakoṇḍān Tirumalai inscription given above it is not clear who the four classes of Rathakāras were and what were the six kinds of work they did. This must be sought for elsewhere.

The first half of Verse 95 of Yājñavalkya I gives the same definition as that furnished in the Uyyakkoṇḍān Tirumalai Inscription *viz.*

माहिष्येण करण्यां तु रथकारः प्रजायत । [58]

In his commentary on this verse Vijñānēśvara quotes the following from Saṅkha : [59]

क्षत्रियवैश्यानुलोमान्तरोत्पन्नजो यो रथकारः
तस्येज्याधानोपनयन संस्कार क्रिया अश्वप्रातिष्ठा
रथसूत्र वास्तुविद्याध्ययन वृत्तिता च

The first part of the above quotation gives the general statement regarding the origin of the Rathakāra. Even having this for our guidance and also the text of Yājñavalkya defining the origin of one of the Rathakāra classes to help us, it is not easy to trace the source of the other three classes.

This difficult problem seems to get a clue for its solution from Yādavaprakās'a's Vaijayanti which states that an Ambaṣṭa (also called Mahānarma and Madgu) [60] is a Māhiṣya who knows medicine; and that Ugra is a Karaṇa (also called Pāraśava)[61] who guards forts, treasure and harem. With Karaṇī as mother and Māhiṣya and Ambaṣṭa as father we get two classes of Rathakāras; and that with Ugra as mother and Māhiṣya and Ambaṣṭa

58. With this compare "*Rathakāram tu Māhiṣyāt Karaṇī Māhiṣadakam,*" Vaijayanti : Bhūmikāṇḍa, Manuṣyādhyāya, *v.*48, Madras Edn. 1893.

59. Bombay Edn. p.29.

60. Vaijayanti, Madras Edn. p. 77, *Vv.* 69-71;

61. *Ibid.* p.78, *v.*76.

as father, we get two more classes of Rathakāras,[62] thus making in all four classes (*nālvagai rathakārar*) that are spoken of in most of the Tamil inscriptions including the one under notice. The text of Vaijayanti seems further to suggest that the profession adopted by Ambaṣṭa and Ugra determined their classes (treated) as Māhiṣya and Karaṇa (if not the degraded status of their fathers). Thus the four classes of Rathakāras are:

1. the son of a Māhiṣya father and Ugra mother,
2. the son of a Māhiṣya father and Karaṇī mother,
3. the son of an Ambaṣṭa father and Ugra mother,
4. the son of an Ambaṣṭa father and Karaṇī mother.

Though four subdivisions may be made out as shown above, the Rathakāra is only a single class, for Ambaṣṭa and Ugra are treated as Māhiṣya and Karaṇa. Vaijayanti enumerates the work of the Rathakāras thus: persons who look after the cash, demands, play and traffic, who measure and construct houses and are acquainted with the rules of worship, sacrifice and *upanayana*.

It is needless to say that under the four classes of Rathakāras, who were after all one, were included the artisan class of Taccaṉ, Taṭṭāṉ, Kollaṉ and Kammāḷaṉ or Karumāram (blacksmith), painters and *s'ilpins*. They were given various names according to the work they did. These six kinds of work thus defined the *aṟuvagaittoḻil* of the inscriptions. This view, it will be seen, is supported by the following text of Vaijayanti:

Takṣā tu Vārddhakīr=tvaṣṭā Rathakāras=cha Kāṣṭataṭ which makes all synonymous.

Having pointed out who the Rathakāras were, what their origin was and in a way indicated also the number of industrial pursuits in which they were engaged, we now proceed to show where they lived, with whom they were associated and what part the whole group played in the social, economic and political

62. An Ambaṣṭa to be regarded as Māhiṣya, his father though a Brahmin by birth must have been considered a Kṣatriya having perhaps given up his duties. For a similar reason an Ugra may be regarded as Karaṇa. Or it might even be, very probably, that the profession adopted by them determined the classes.

structure of the nation and what contribution they made to the cultural advancement of the country.

That the Rathakāra classes lived in separate *cēris* or hamlets adjoining big cities is known from inscriptions and literature. One of the inscriptions of Cidambaram—which was a free village (something akin to Presidency towns) in the district of Rājēndra-siṅga-vaḷanāḍu—speaks of the foundation of a *nagara* (on the eastren hamlet) under the name Guṇamēnagaipuram and states that it shall admit to be settled in it as inhabitants such *vyāpārins* (merchants), *veḷḷāns* (cultivators), *s'aṅkarappāḍiyār*, *s'āliyar* (weavers) and *paṭṭiṇavar* as well as the *kīḻkalaṇai* classes, *viz. taccar* (carpenters), *kollar* (blacksmith), *taṭṭār* (goldsmith) and *kōliyar*, that are desirous of entering it. It may be noted (i) that all the persons that are mentioned here are of the industrial and mercantile classes, (ii) that *taccar, kollar, taṭṭār, kōliyar* (who as pointed out by us above formed the Rathakāras, are here called *Kīḻ-kalaṇai*, a term that may be taken to correspond to the Sanskrit *anulōma* and (iii) that the quarter of these classes is called by the terms *nagara* and *puram* and that it was a hamlet. We find that, in places like Kāñcipuram, Ulagaḷanda-s'ōḻapuram, Jananāthapuram etc. the *nagara* constitution was functioning. The inscription cited above makes a distinction between the *Kiḻ-kalaṇaī* in which were included the Rathakāra classes *taccar, kollar, taṭṭār, kōliyar* and the other industrialists among whom figure *s'aṅkarappāḍiyār* and *s'āliyar*. On a previous occasion I pointed out that *kaikkōḷar, s'āliyar, vāṇigar, sēnai-aṅgāḍiyār* and *kōyil-aṅgādiyār* etc. formed *puṟa-kalaṇai* (see p.146 of *Ep. Ind.*Vol. XXII) a term that is akin to and perhaps derived from *pratilōma* as *kīḻ-kalaṇai* seems to be derived from *anulōma*. The living in proximity of several industrial classes in a single place like *nagara*, subject to a single corporation of merchants is another feature that is worthy of note.

From the Cidambaram record we find that people of several mixed castes (*kīl-kalaṇai* and *puṟa-kalaṇai*), who followed different professions in life, lived in the same place, which is called here a *nagara* and *puram*, mixing freely with each other and were

in close contact with the corporation of merchants who could clear off their productions.

In addition to the several classes of people mentioned in the above inscription, some others also lived in the industrial village of *puram* or *nagara*. One of the Tamil epigraphs of Ceylon found at Polannaruva refers to the construction by Dēvasēna at the command of the king Vijayabāhudēva I, of a Buddhist monument called Gandhakuṭi *alias* Daḷadāyapperumpaḷḷi for enshrining the tooth relic of the Buddha. It tells us that this newly constructed shrine was entrusted to the care and protection of the Vēḷaikkāras. Among the latter were included the following *pala-kalaṇai* (numerous mixed castes of people), *viz. Valaṅgai, Iḍaṅgai, Sirudaṇam, Piḷḷaigaḷdaṇam Vaḍugar, Malayāḷar, Parivārakondam,* etc. What is more important is the statement made in this inscription that the *Vaḷañjiyar* were their *mūtādai* (early ancestors) and that the *nagarattār* always accompanied them.[63]

Besides mentioning a number of classes that followed the different professions and stating that the Vēḷaikkāras were always accompanied by the *nagarattār*—in this respect resembling the people that were settled in the newly founded *nagara* of Guṇamēnagaipuram—the Polannaruva inscription refers to one of the important functions performed by the chief of the Rathakāra-Takaṣa. This function is called *tirunayana-mokṣa* or *tirunayana abhiṣēka*. It is performed year after year when, perhaps, the painting of the image is renewed. Speaking of the chief priest who acted on the occasion of the first of such ceremonies to Gandhakuṭi, the Polannaruva inscription states that he was *sakala-s'āstra-āgamas'īlācāra-sampanna* and that he was accompanied by Vyāriṇi Mugallan and the minister of the king (Rajāmātya).[64]

From the Mahāvaṁsa we learn that the captain of the army of Mugalan was named Uttara and he built a meditation hall. Perhaps

63. The words used in the inscription are: *engaḷukku mūtataiyārāyuḷḷa Vaḷañjiyaraiyum eṅgalōḍu-kūḍi varum nagarattāraiyum kūṭṭi mūṇṛukai-tiru-vēḷaikkāraṇ-Daḷadāyapperumpaḷḷi eṇṛu tiru-nāmañ-chātti.*

64. No. 600 of *M,E,C.* for 1912. Text is given in *S.I.I.* Vol. IV No. 1396.

Uttaramula referred to in the inscription is so called after Uttara. In this connection the following is worth noting. "The abhishēka of an image is the setting or painting of its eyes, a ceremony annually performed with great splendour. It is the *nētra-pinkama* of the Singhalese Buddhists."[65] Curiously enough this ceremony of eye-*opening finds mention in the Tamil work Jīvaka-Cintāmaṇi.*[66] The author tells us how the painter or sculptor, concentrating his thoughts, looks on the object, forms an image of it on the canvas of his brain, develops it with the brush of his imagination and finally performs the eye-opening. The term used by the poet is *kaṉ-viḍuttal* which the commentator Naccinārkiṉiyār renders into "*nayana-mōkkam*" which is the same as the one used in the Polannaruva inscription cited above.

We have referred in some detail to the contents of two inscriptions, one from Cidambaram and the other from Polannaruva, the former to give a fairly good idea of the constitutional parts of a *puram* or *nagaram* which formed the residential quarters of the Rathakāras with their numerous subdivisions or sects and the latter to show the various groups or assemblages of persons that acted in a body and the prominent share taken by them in the administration and management of public institutions such as Hindu temples and Buddhist shrines.

We shall now note what information we gather from Tamil classical works regarding the Rathakāras, the various works in which they were engaged and the contribution they made to the economic and cultural progress of the nation.

Besides *nagarm* and *puram* in which were large settlements of different groups of industrialists, merchants and traders, some of them also lived in smaller quarters called *cēris*. These *cēris* were named after the classes of people that inhabited them. Tamil literature speaks of Yavaṉaccēri, Eṟipaḍaiccēri, Sēṉaiccēri, Kollañcēri, Milaiccacēri, Muṭṭigaiccēri, Kammavālaiyam and Dēs'iyacēri,

65. Wijesinha : *Mahāvamsa*, p. i.

66. Nāmagaḷilambakam, v. 180, *Ivv-uruvu neñjeṉṉuṅ-Kiḷīyiṉmēl-irundilakkittu—avv-uruvu-niṉaipp-eṉṉun-tu giligaiyāl varuttittu=kkaviyataṉ nōkkiṉār-kaṉviḍuttu etc.*

etc. The people in these *cēris* followed various pursuits. While some were engaged in bangle-making, boring holes in gems, making gold ornaments, bell-metal and copper-vessels, iron articles ammunitions and wood works, others were shaping sculptures, drawing paintings and the like.[67] Many of these must have been grouped together and made to fall under one or other of the six main industries in which the four classes of Rathakāras were engaged.

The following lines speak of the kind of work the industrial classes pursued and testify to the proficiency of the craftsmen of some of the places:

Yavaṉattaccarum, Avanti kollarum, Māgadattu-piranda Maṇiviṉai-kāranum, Pāḍali-piranda sempoṉ-viṉaiñarum, Kōs'a-latt-iyaṉṟa Ōviyattoḻilarum, Vatta-nāṭṭu Vaṇṇa-kammiyarum, Evvagai-s'eygaiyum uvamaṅ-kātti nuṇṇidiṉ-uṇarnda nuḻainda nūkkiṉ Kaṇṇuḷ-viṉaiñarum.

The six kinds of industrialist often referred to are *taccar* (carpenters), *kollar* (blacksmiths), *maṇi-viṉaiñar* (workers on gems), *taṭṭār* (goldsmiths), *ōviyar* (sculptors) and *vaṇṇakammiyar* (painters). In each of these some are said to have established their reputation. The carpenters of Yavana, the blacksmiths of Avanti, gem-workers of Magadha, goldsmiths of Pāṭaliputra (Patna), the sculptors of Kōs'ala and the painters of Vatsa had made a mark each class in its field. The terms *ōviyam* and *vaṇṇa-kammiyam* in Tamil seem to include sculpture, architecture and painting.

A reference to the above mentioned six kinds of crafts is found in Indiraviḻavūreḍutta-kādai of Silappadigāram and Maṇimēgalai. The sculptors are known as Ōviyar, s'iṟpar, kaṇṇul-viṉaiñar.

67. Maduraikkanchi also speaks of some of the works of the Rathakāras in lines 511f:—*Kōḍupōḷ-kaḍainarum* (bangle makers), *Tirumaṇi-kuyiṉarum* (boring holes in gems), *s'ūḍuṟu naṉ poṉ s'uḍar-iḻnai puṉainarum* (making gold jewels), *poṉ urai kāṇmarum* (testing fineness of gold), *Kaliṅgam paga-rnarum* (dealing in cloth), *sembu-niṟai koṇmarum* (brass-workers) ; *Also see Kañca-kārarum sembu-seyyuṉarum maraṅ-kol taccar karuṅgai kollar, Kaṇṇuḷ-viṉaiñar maṇṇiṭṭāḷar poṉ-s'ey kollar naṉ-kalam-tarunar*—Silappadigāram.

Māgada-viṉaiñarum Māraṭṭa-kammarum, Avanti-kollarum, Yavaṉa-Taccarum, Taṇḍamiḻ viṉaiñar tammoḍu kūḍi, Koṇḍ-iṉid-iyaṟṟiya kaṉ-kavar-s'eyviṉai (*Maṉimēgalai-p.* 212).

Here it may be pointed out that though the Māhiṣyas were also called Yavanas, the Yavanas mentioned above were not natives of this country; but had settled themselves in various parts of India and spoke their own language. They mingled freely with craftsmen. Their influence and skill were felt and acknowledged in many places. The extent to which they co-operated with the artisans of the Tamil country resulted in producing admirable works of art that captivated the eyes of all people.[68]

Yavanas are described [68a] as beautiful in appearance and as having quarters [69] of their own. Paṭṭiṉappālai informs us that foreigners from different countries came and settled themselves together in the coastal region of Puhār and mingled with the people of the place, specially of the artisan classes.[70] One of the Tamil commentators calls the Yavanas by the term Mileccar, *i.e* foreigners and *pulampeyar-mākkaḷ*, *i e.* those that move from one place to another; and another calls them Turukkar.[71] They wore swords and were employed to guard the entrances of palaces.[72] Peruṅgadali refers to no less than 100 *cēris* of Yavanas and says that the king of the Yavanas paid tribute to Pradyōdana.[73] Yādava-prakāśa, in his Vaijayanti, states that the Cīna (also termed Kharambara), Gāndhāra (also known as Dihaṇḍa) and Yavana (named also as Huruṣkara) are *janapadas* on the northern region.[74] They put on shorts and coats [75] and were provided

68. "*Yavaṉa-taccarum taṉ-ḍamiḻ-viṉaiñar tammoḍuṅ-kūḍikkoṇḍ-iṉidiyaṟṟiya kaṉ-kavar-s'eyviṉai.*"

68*a*. *Silappadigaram*: Indiravilavūr⁰; 1.9f.

69. *kayavar maruṅgir kāṉpōṟ taḍukkum, payanara vaṟiyā yavaṉar-irukkai.*

70. See 1.216f.

71, *Ibid.*

72. *Silappadigāram.* Ūrkāṉ⁰: 1.66f.

73. *kaḍi-madil vāyil kāvaliṟ-chiṟakka aḍal vāḷ-yavaṉar*

74, *Ibid.* p, 804.

75. अथोदीच्या जनपदास्तत्र चीनाः खरंभराः ।
गांधारस्तु दिहण्डारस्युर्यवनास्तु हुरुष्कराः ॥

with belts; they had sandals to their foot. While some of them engaged themselves in trade, selling salt and pepper, others were busily engaged in industrial arts. There was a marked preference to their art productions. They made different kinds of boxes (*yavaṉa-pēḻai*), cushions and beds (*yavaṉa mañcikai*) (*s'oṉaga-s'iḍukksiṉ-kūḍu*) a kind of covering for the head,[76] and they made also sculptural representations of women holding lamps in the hollow of their hands and meṭallic lamps with the figure of a swan on the top.[77] Of the many articles made by the Yavanas mention may be made of *Yavaṉappāvai*,[78] *yavaṉar-puṉarppu*,[79] *makara-vīṇai*,[80] *peruvali-pūdam*,[81] *yavaṉa-vaiyam*, (vehicle), the last of which was provided with a kind of machinery.[82] The *yavaṉa*-artisans are called *yavaṉa-āriyar* and *yavaṉ-tāccar*[83] and they produced excellent artistic works.[84]

They were skilled in making massive artistic columns, tastefully decorated with life-like natural scenaries and with polished pedestals and wreaths which supported exquisitely executed *vimānas*. They showed a very high degree of technical skill in making sculpture and in wood carving. Not only were they engaged in art and industry, but some of them found employment in the army, where, it is said, they served the king faithfully even

76. *mey-ppai-pukka veruvarum-tōṟṟattu valipuṉar yākkai vaṉ-kaṉ-yavaṉar*. Mullaippāṭṭu.1.60f.

77. *Vēṇḍ-iḍaṉ-tōṟum—tūṇḍu tiri-kkōḷii—kaivayiṟ=koṇḍa neyy-agaṟ-choriyum—yavaṉappāvaiyāḷiaviḷakku*. Peruṅgadai: 1.47.1.173f. Neḍunalvāḍai refers to the same thus: "*yavaṉar-iyaṟṟiya viṉai-māṉpāvai viḷakku kaiyēndu taiyaliniṟaiya ney soṟindu parūu=ttirikkoḷiiya kurūttalai nimieri* 1.101f.

Ōtima-viḷakkiṉ=uyarmis'ai-kkoṇḍa s'ōṉagakkūmbiṉ mēliṭṭa aṉṉa-viḷakku.

78. *Peruṅgadai*, p. 239.

79. *Ibid*. p. 93.

80. *Ibid*. p. 623.

81. *Ibid*. p. 932-3.

82. *arum-pori nuṉitta yavaṉa-kaiviṉai kaṇḍagu vaṉappiṟ-pāṇḍil* and *perum pori vaiyam* (III.5.*l*.48 f and 65).

83. *Ibid*. I. 38. *l*. 233.

84. *Ibid*. p. 407.

when the latter was at times enraged and behaved harshly towards them. They guarded the entrances of high forts, kept order in big streets and roamed about mounted on horseback.

The Rathakāras thus played a very important part in the economic life of the ancient Indian people. They divided amongst themselves almost all the valuable industries as well as the arts and crafts of India and executed their work with such dexterity that they earned for India a very high reputation in the civilised world. The Rathakāras were indispensable to every other class of people in the land. The Brahmins needed their help for making the *srik*, *sruva* and other articles for performing their sacrifices; the Kṣatriyas depended on them for forging armours, weapons such as javelins, spears, swords, shields, *piṇḍi*, *pāla* etc. and numerous other engines of destruction with several devises; the Vaiśyas received their weights and measures; and the cultivator their ploughs and rods. Innumerable varieties of ornaments were made by them. Carts, coaches, chariots and *rathas* (massive cars) with lively images and scenes were of their working. Several stringed instruments with appropriate sounding boards were yet other productions of theirs. Vessels of various shapes and forms to serve different purposes were devised and made in gold, silver, bell-metal, brass and copper. From the simple hut of the poor man to the palaces of the nobility with different apartments for diverse objects were constructed by them. Tastefully decorated dancing and music halls, assembly rooms, theatres and pavilions, which each city possessed and fortifications had also been erected by them.

Among the Rathakāras, the highest attainment is attributed to the *Sthapati*. He is so termed because it is he that brings into existence the magnificent structures of kings and gods. He is reputed for his intelligence, truthfulness, upright conduct and his ability to reason well. He is said to be learned in the Vedas and S'āstras and to have acquired a thorough knowledge of architecture. He is a good sculptor and could dexterously wield his pencil and brush and he is a master of painting. He is accurate in his calculations, knows astrology and the portents of birds. He can distinguish what is auspicious from what is not. He can test the earth and find out flaws in stones.

The patronage shown by kings and potentates to the Rathakāras who embellished the country with monolithic and sculptural monuments, mostly of a religious character, dedicated to the worship of Jina, Buddha, S'iva, Viṣṇu etc. with a profusion of images of exquisite workmanship and natural scenery of plant, bird and animal life, which speak to the Rathakāra's keen power of observation, great æsthetic sense, close study of the *āgamas*, *itihāsas* and *purāṇas*, never erring proportion of parts, high technical skill and imagination.

Besides architecture (*vāstu*) and sculpture (*s'ilpa*) and shaping of images (*pratima*) of gods and goddesses and making of chariots (*rathas*) etc. Rathakāras indulged also in painting.

A word may now be said about the assembly that functioned in the villages inhabited by the Rathakāras. It seems to have been constituted in the same way as the *Ūr* and the *Sabhā*; and commanded the confidence of all the subjects whose interests it represented. The local assemblies were subject to and were parts of a bigger body that had its jurisidiction ranging over several districts and held its meetings at different places within it. Both the smaller units and the provincial body worked under the aegis of the king of the land and were guided by the laws laid down in the Dharmas'āstras. The assemblies of the *Rathakāras* were responsible to the state for collecting the fees and incomes that were due from the villages where they functioned in respect of the lands held by them and in respect also of the outturn in the various industries in which they were working. They managed all endowments made to temples and other public institutions left in their charge and carried out the intentions of the donors. The constitutional nature of the bodies is apparent in the transactions they made and in the implicit obedience of the constituents. Like the other administrative bodies such as the *Ūr* and the *Sabhā*, the *Rathahāras* also appear to have kept in view the ultimate object, *viz.* of upholding the virtuous and punishing the evil-doer (*duṣṭar keṭṭu siṣṭar varditiḍuvadāga*). It has been noted already that the functioning members possessed good qualifications and had high ideals. They knew Tamil, Sanskrit and the *dēs'iya-bhās'a*. They were learned in politics, *āgamas*, *purāṇas*, *dhanurvēda* and a work called *Muttamiḻ-mālai*

and bound themselves to see that *aṟam* (*i.e. dharma*) prospered and the evils of *kali* dwindled.

One must guard against taking these assemblies of the Rathakāras for what were termed *sambūya samutthāna.* The latter were something like private companies or guilds of artisans, traders and industrialists who worked for personal gains with an invested capital. They had no authority over the public and the people were not represested in them. Whereas the rural administrative institutions of the *Ūr* and the *Sabhā* were subject to the assembly of the subdivisions in which the villages were situated, the assembly of the Rathakāras was subject to the authority not only of the subdivision (*nāḍu*) but also of a bigger body having a wider jurisdiction extending over the assemblies of all the *nāḍu* situated in eighteen districts. We may reiterate that the adminstrative character of the Rathakāra assembly is clearly indicated in the statements made in the following passage :

(i) *Aṟuvagai-ttoḻil nālvagai Rathakārarōmum Samaya-saṅkētigaḷōmum niṟaivaṟa niṟaindu kuṟaivaṟakkūḍiy-irundu s'eyda samaya kāriyamāvadu.* (*line 5*).

(ii) *ellāv-iḍaṅgaḷilumuḷḷa aṟuvagaittoḻil nālvagai Rathakārarkkum nāḍugaḷil samaya-saṅkētigaḷukkum aṟivitta samaya kāriyamāvadu.* (*line* 7 f.)

It is particularly worthy of note that the decision was communicated to *all the Rathakāras* and all the members of the subdivisional assemblies and not to some select people among them.

The words *samayakārya* and *samayasaṅkēta* used in the above passage offer some difficulty of understanding and have been variously interpreted. As such we may offer some remarks by way of explaining the terms.

Though protection of subjects was generally the duty of kings, it was very often entrusted to be carried on by rural assemblies in ancient India. These latter were named *grama, dēs a* (*janapada*), *jāti, kula, s'rēṇi, gaṇa,* etc, called in Tamil inscriptions as *Ūr Nāḍu* (*Periya-Nāḍu*), *Brāhmaṇa-Ūr,*

kuḍumbu and *nagara*. These names generally take after the place of jurisidiction of the respective assemblies. All *vyavasthas*, laws, regulations and transactions made by kings wer called *Rājakritadharmas* while those done by other bodie functioning in the country as protectors of subjects were termed *samaya dharmas*. Just as the king was guided by his learned counscellors, ministers and others, the various bodies mentioned above conducted their proceedings with a fixed quorum of members who acted in accordance with the established laws of the country (*nija dharma avirōdhēna*), held discussions and came to an unanimous settlement (*amaiyappēs'i is'aiyacceydu*) which was termed *samaya-kārya* (assembly transactions) while the members taking part in the deliberation were known as *samaya-saṅkētins*. The laws relating to the abrogation of these assembly transactions are given under the section *Samvidvyatikrama* by all law-givers. It may be pointed out that *samvida* in Manu (V. 219. Ch. VIII) is replaced by *samaya* (*Vv.* 220, 221 *Ibid*) and Kullūka Bhaṭṭa calls it *saṅkēta* in his comment on *v.* 219. Vijñānēs'vara notes:

पारिभाषिक धर्मेण व्यवस्थानं समयः

Yādavaprakās'a gives its synonyms in the following verse.

समयस्तु क्रियाकारे संकेते चरिते सताम्

Vaijayanti, *V*.52 of Trayakṣarakāṇḍa, Pulliṅgādhyāya.

Another very informing definition of *samaya-kaiya* (*kārya*) is furnished by Bṛhaspati. It tells us when such a thing is done and why. The text runs as follows:

ग्रामश्रेणि गणानाञ्च संकेतः समयक्रिया ।
बाधाकालेतु सा कार्या धर्मकार्ये तथैवच ॥
चाटचौरभयेवाथाः सर्व्वसाधारणस्मृताः ।
सत्रोपशमनं कार्यं सर्व्वैर्नैकेन केनाचित् ॥

Here, the first line defines that *samayakriyā* (assembly transaction) is the joint deliberation (*saṅkēta*) of (any of the bodies

called) *grāma* (functioning in villages), *s'rēṇi* [85] (assembly of artisans including merchants and traders) and *gaṇas* (other groups). It will be remembered that these bodies were engaged in affording protection to subjects. The second line explains that this *samayakriyā* must be done when any impediment or harassing was apprehended or at the time of making laws or endowments. The third line tells us that very commonly harassment was caused to subjects by *cāṭas* and *cauras*. These terms will be explained presently. The fourth line enjoins that the allaying of (apprehended harassment) must be done by the assembly (as a whole) and not by any single person.

From Yādavaprakās'a quoted above and from this text of Bṛhaspati it will be clear that *saṅkēta* and *samayakriyā* mean one and the same, *i.e.* they are synonyms and that it refers to the joint transaction of administrative assemblies of men engaged in affording protection to people.

The word *cāṭa* had been the subject of much learned disquisitions. Instead of entering into any long discussion on the word, we need only quote a text of Yājñavalkya where this word occurs with the terms *caura* and *bādha* substituted by their synonyms *taskara* and *pīḍa* and cite the explanation offered thereon by the erudite commentator Vijñānēs'vara, adding our translation of it in the light of the latter.

चाटतस्करदुर्वृत्तमाहसाहसिकादिभिः ।
पीड्यमानाः प्राजारक्षेत् कायस्थैश्च विशेषतः ॥

Yājñavalkya I. 336.

Subjects must be protected against harassment caused by hypocrits who confiding with the people cheat them; against thieves, against those who use violence and principally against accountants.

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[85] सजातिशिल्पि संहत्यामषण्डः श्रेणिराबलौ ।
V. 90 of Dvayak° Naṇālinga of Vaijayanti.
श्रेणयो नानाजातीनां एकजातीयकर्मोपजीविनां संघताः
Vijñānēs'vara on *V*. 30 of Yājñavalkya II.

चाटाः = प्रतारकाः विश्वास्य ये परद्रव्ये अपहरन्ति

तस्कराः = प्रच्छन्नापहारिणः

साहसिकाः प्रसत्थापहारिणः

Besides the above quoted verse, two others, one of Manu and another of Yāñavalkya also refer to harassment generally caused to subjects by district officials and state that protection must be given to them and the offender punished. These are :

राज्ञो हि रक्षाधिकृताः परस्वादायिनः शठाः
भृत्या भवन्ति प्रायेणतेभ्यो रक्षेदिमाः प्रजाः ॥

Manu VII ; *v*. 123.

"Servants of the king, whom he has appointed guardians of districts, are generally knaves who seize what belongs to other men : from such knaves let him defend his people."

ये राष्ट्राधिकृतास्तेषां चारैर्ज्ञात्वा विचेष्ठितम्
साधून्संमानयेद्राजा विपरीतांश्च घातर्यत्

Yājñavalkya I.338.

The king, by ascertaining through spies the actions of persons appointed over districts, should honour the good and punish the wicked.

What is said about the king is applicable to the rural assemblies which, as had been noted, are known from inscriptions to have been entrusted with collection of taxes, administration and rendering of justice. This is the view taken by the commentators Kullūka Bhaṭṭa [86] and Vijñānēs'vara [87] also.

Finally it may be said that *samaya* has nothing to do with religion, with which it had been and likely to be often confounded

86. राजशब्धोऽपि नात्रक्षत्रिय जाति वचनः किंतु अभिषिक्त जनपद पुरपालयितु पुरुषवचनः

Manu, *VII*.].

87. See under Vājñavalkya II. 1.

and it is also necessary to caution against the use of these texts, in the case of guilds which work purely for gain under *samaya samutthāna.*

TEXT

1. Svasti Srī[II*]Upajīva . . . . . s'ālāparandivyam baudhim=ēvam hi sādhanam I . . . . . . mātā vis'vakarmmā jaga. . . . . nta vis'vaka. . . . . maya tōṉṟiya pattāy nigaḻā-niṉṟa uḷḷaḍa peridu. . . . . . ttākkal Kaṇṇāḷar saṅ. . . . . . pperumaiyum ivar piṟand=uḍaiyad=Āriya.-

2. nāḍum peṟṟuḍaiyad=Uttarāpatiyum = aḷand=uḍaiyadu Tavappaḷḷiyum jayittuḍaiyadu makara-kkoḍiyum koṟṟavarum dēvargaḷum koṇḍā . . . . , . l purindē muṉbu kāṭṭun-tirukkūt[tai]muḷuduṅ=kaṇḍu piṉbu kāṭṭa-vēṇum=eṉṉa Īs'aṉ purakkaḍai kāṭṭa=ppeṟṟuḍaiyōr Kāṭṭāvūr-ammaiyālē kaṉaka-maḷai poḷivittu nā-

3. ṭṭāruṅ=Kalikālaṉ dēs'am-ellām nāṭṭuvittōr aṟattoḍu purindav=ākka-pperukkamum s'iṟappoḍu polinda s'elva naṉgu pey-um kuṉṟāda ku[ḍ] ḍippiṟappum kūṟiya-sol vīṟuḍaimaiyum maṉṟu-kalaṅgā maṉai-vāḻkkaiyum ivarōḍu māṟāṉār nīṟāgaiyum s'eṉṟavi-ḍattu=chcheṟu veṟṟiyum Dēvēndirarāl aruḷ peṟudalum pugaḻum putra-lābhamum s'atru-nās'amum maṟṟum=eppērppaṭṭa samasta-

4. udayaṅgaḷaiyum-uḍaiyarāy yāvarun-toḻum toḷi (yal) larāṉa akka-s'ālaiyum paḷḷiyum ā[ṉ]aiyāgavuḍaiya aṟu-vagai-ttoḷil nāl-vagai Rathakārarom S'akābdam āyiratt-orunūṟṟ-eṉ(b)batt-āṟadaṉāl śellāniṉṟa Karkaṭa-nāyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu daśamiyum S'aṉik-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Rōs'aṉi-nāḷ tōgar-irundu piṟar takkaḍakki mikk-irunda samayaṅgalum vēṇḍum vagaiyē nilaipeṟutti Bhūmidēvi-

5. inid-irutti pūtalattē pugaḻ-perukki Nāmagaḷum na . . . nalam=irutti Suttavali-vaḷanāṭṭu Rājādhirāja-chchaṟuppēdimaṅga-lattu Vaṇḍuvarāpati . . . . aṟuvagai-ttoḷil nāl-vagai Ratha-kārarōmum Samaya saṅkētigaḷōmum niṟaivara niṟaindu kuṟaivaṟa-kkūḍiy-irundu śeyda samaya-kāriyamāvadu [II] Arunmoḷidēva-vaḷanāṭṭum Rājēndraśōḻa-vaḷanāṭṭum Umbar-nāṭṭum Geyamāṇik-ka-vaḷanā-

6. ṭṭum . . . . . ṭṭum Uyyakkoṇḍār valanāṭṭum Śuttamalli-vaḷanāṭṭum Nittavi . . . . . Pāṇḍikulāśani . . . . nāṭṭu . . . . . kkulakāla-vaḷanāṭṭum Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāṭṭum Kōṉāḍāṉa Kaḍalaḍaiyād-Ilaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāṭṭum Vaḍagarai Irājarāja vaḷanāṭṭum Vikkiramaśōḷa-vaḷanāṭṭum Virudarājaba-

7. yaṅkara-vaḷanāṭṭum Rājādhirāja-vaḷanāṭṭum Kulōttuṅga-śōḷa-paṭṭīṉattum Muḍikkaḷattalattu-pPudukkōṭ . . . . . ṭiṉattuppā . . . . . Neṟ-paṉṉaiyilum maṟṟum ellāv-iḍaṅgaḷilumuḷḷa aṟuvagai-ttoḷil nāl-va-

8. gai Rathakāraṟkum Nāḍugaḷil Samaya-saṅkētigaḷukkum aṟivitta samaya-kāriyamāvadu Suttavalli-vaḷanāṭṭu Muḍich [chōḷanāṭṭu Ā][88] laṅguḍiyāṉa S'rī-Jaṉaṉādachcharuppēdimaṅgalattu . . . . . yaṉārkku i-ṉṉāyaṉā . . . . . Tirunīṟṟu-chchōḷaṉ-tiru-ttōppil Āpaṟsahāyapperumāḷ ēriyaruḷa Muḷudum-vallvaṉeṉ-

9. ṟu nam pērāl nām seygiṟa tiru-maṇḍapattukku vēṇḍum neṟṟigaḷukkum idu āṇḍn-tōr . . . . yāvadu[II*]i-ṉṉāḍugaḷil=uḷḷār pēr-oṉṟukku . . . . dāga vanda kā . . . . ṉum Vīramāhēs'va . . . . pichcharōm ka . . . . taṇḍi=ppaṇḍārattilē mudal=iḍakkaḍavargaḷ-āgavum [II*] ipparis'ukku oḷittu . . ṭṭē puṟañcho-

10. ṉṉār-uṇḍāmāgilu[m*]maṉ-kalam tagarttum veṉ-kalam partittum Saṅkētigaḷāl muṭṭu . . . . s'arōḍuṅ-kūḍi ūṟ [u] koḷḷakkaḍavadāgavum . . . . yāga iṉavari taṇḍi . . . .[89] ṉa tiru . . . . vēṇḍuvaṉa s'eyyakkaḍavargaḷāga sammadittu padiṉeṉ-vishai-

11. yattu aṟu-vagai-ttoḷil nāl-vagai-Rathakāraṟkum oḷugu s'eḍi paṉṉi . . . . kkāttiruppadiyil ko- . . . . yarāvar . . . . Karumāṇikka Āchāriya . . . . . . kulakāla-s'ōḷa-Āchāriyaṉ eḻuttu [I]Maṅgalattu kāniyudaiya Periyanāṭṭ-Āchariyaṉ eḻuttu [I*]

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88. The letters in brackets have been filled up from No. 438 of S. I. I. Vol. VI.

89. The letters lost here are *mudalā*.

12. Kūttaṉ-chakravarttipperumāṉāṉa Naḍuvirukkai sayiñaik-kum [II*] Ivai vigu . . . ṉāṉa Irakāra-chakravatti eḻuttu[I*] Ippaḍikku ivai Ko . . la . . . . . kayāṉa Nambi s'eyvāṉ eḻuttu [II*] Ippaḍikku ivai Vaḷḷal eḻuttu [I*] Kañchānagarattu Aṉbaṉāṉa Iradakārachchakravartti eḻuttu [I*]

13. Paḻuvūr . . . . Nambi s'eyvā . . . . . ṉambaril . . . . . Rājarāja-Vātarāyaṉ eḻuttu [I*] . . . . . pattoṉ-badu-vaḷanāṭṭu Padiṉeṉbhūmi-Iradakārachchakravatti eḻuttu [I*] uḍaṉkūṭṭattu-

14. s'āmadāyam Ambarāttōṇi . . . . [I*] . . . .[90] ivai Piḷḷaiyāṉ eḻuttu [I*] Ippaḍikku ivai Iḷaiyāṇḍāṉāṉa Irāja-gambīr-Āchāriyaṉ eḻuttu [I*]

15. Pāmbuṇiyil . . . . . . kāṇiyuḍaiya tachcharil Paruvāyaṉāṉa Tiruvēmbaḍi-pperun-tachchaṉāṉa Mayaṉādarāyaṉ eḻuttu [I*] I-kkōyil kāṇi-

16. yuḍaiya . . . . . tti eḻuttu [I*] Uḍaiyapiḷḷai-yāṉa Periyanāṭṭu-pperun-tachchaṉ naḍu-virukkaiyēṉ eḻuttu [I*] Iv-ūr taṭṭāril

17.........

(*To be continued*)

---

90. Fill this gap with the letters *Ippaḍikku*.

THE ANTIQUITY OF MYSORE

By Dr. M. Arokiaswami, M.A., Ph.D.

The antiquity of Mysore is so great that it gets allied with the early migrations of the Āryans and the Dravidians in India. At the fourth session of the International Congress of Anthropologists and Ethnologists held in Vienna in the first week of September 1952, Dr. Furer-Haimendorf of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, speaking on "New Aspect of Dravidian Problems" held on the strength of "recent archæological finds in Mysore" that the Dravidians brought the iron age to South India, that they travelled by land from Iran through Baluchistan and along the West Coast till they came to the Mysore plateau and that the period of the Dravidian arrival in South India should be approximately 500 B.C. and not much earlier.*

There is still much controversy with regard to the home of the Dravidians and the current opinion seems to make them natives of peninsular India. Nay more; it is the consensus of opinion among scholars that the Dravidians were of one race along with the inhabitants of the countries variously designated today as Australia, South Africa and India and that all these countries together formed in early times one land mass, which the ethnologist designates as '*Lemuria*' and the Geologist, '*Gondwana*.'[1] The second fact now accepted with regard to the early history of the Dravidians is that somewhere round about 4,000 B.C. the demarcation of the countries as they exist now was caused by one or more deluges, in which certain portions of the unified land mass were swallowed up by the sea which led also to the migration of the people who had occupied this huge sector of land in different directions. It is said that they separated in all directions reaching as far as the coast of Spain through the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean.[2]

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* This may be compared with the affinities between the Brahmi dialect of Baluchisthan and the Dravidian dialects and suggest a proto-Dravidian origin, *Cf.* QJMS. Vol. XVIII, pp. 294 *et seq.* and pp. 311-318 (Ed.)

1. See my article on "The Problem of the Dravidian Origins" in *Tamil Culture* : September 1953, Pages, 334-339.

2. Kanthaiah Pillai : *Tamilagam* ; Chap. 1.pp. 33-34.

The talented and distinguished Bengalee scholar, Dr. Kalidas Nag, states that a good number from the southern portion of what is now peninsular India and particularly of the portion that must have been submerged by sea may have gone up to the North and particularly to Central India :

> "The Earliest Stone Age culture of India is represented by the hand-axe technique of Madras and the Old Stone Age people may have migrated from South India to Central India." [3]

There need be no doubt on this point, as a migration northwards for people who were dispossessed of their lands in the south would have occurred as the most natural act. Tamil literature, which fortunately possesses works of very early times to its credit, does make mention of these deluges. The Silappādikaram of the second century A.D.[4] mentions not only the deluge but also the attempts made by a king of the south, the Pāṇḍyan, to conquer certain regions to the north to make good the loss that he had sustained by the inundation :

> "*Pakruli yarrudan panmalai adukathu*
> *kumarikodum Kodumkadal kolla*
> *vadathisai gangaiyum imayamum kondu*
> *Thenthisai yanda tennavan vali.*"
>
> *Silappādikaram*, *XI*, *lines 18-21*.

These lines clearly convey that at some early time the sea swallowed up a large portion of South India and the ruler of the tract retrieved the loss by conquering the territory of the Ganges and the Himalayas.

It is, therefore, no wonder if Dravidian remains are found in the north particularly in the north-west as has been shown by recent excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro.

---

3. Nag ; *India and the Pacific world*. p. 32.
4. The date is arrived at by the contemporaneity of the Cēra king of this period, mentioned at great length in the work with Gajabahu of Ceylon, whose date is established with reference to the Ceylonese chronicles.

Dr. Furer-Haimendorf whose "New Light on the Dravidian Problems" has appeared in the Tamil Culture for April, 1953, speaks of a southern migration of the Dravidians from the north-west to the south of India by way of the West Coast and the region of Mysore basing himself on the knowledge gained from the recent archæological finds in Brahmagiri (Mysore). Though there is grave misconception in his mind both as to the fact and the date of the Dravidian migration referred to, he, however, brings to light the antiquity of the Mysore region.

The fact that there were in early times frequent north to south movements of the Dravidians on the Indian soil cannot be denied. The point to be cleared is, when and how these migrations were caused. Dr. Haimendorf's contention that the very first entry of the Dravidian into South India was as late as the fifth century B.C. does not recommend itself in view of the high civilisation achieved by that race much earlier than this date. The case is much worse, if we follow the archæologist, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, who assigns the date 200 B.C. for the finds of Brahmagiri, on which Dr. Haimendorf bases his own argument. The history of India even from the fourth century B.C. ceases to be vague and gets lighted at many important points both by indigenous records and by the evidence of foreigners like the Greeks. It must be remembered that one of the great effects of the invasion of Alexander the Great was to bring India and things Indian to the knowledge of the world. Between the records left by men like Kautilya on the one hand and of persons like Seleucos Nikator on the other, much dependable history does indeed reside and we do not find in them the slightest mention of the Dravidian migration referred to here. [5] It is now roughly agreed that between 2,000 B. C. and 1,000 B. C. the Āryans had settled down in the valley of the Ganges and that their southern migration began about the latter date. It is most probable that the southward journeys of the Dravidians became frequent about this same date either because they were pushed down by the incoming Āryans or *pari*

5. See my article referred to above for a detailed exposition of this point; *Tamil Culture* : *Op. Cit*, : *Loc. Cit*.

pasu with the Āryans themselves. Both causes might have well worked together also.

It is at this point that the region of what is now known as Mysore rises in importance. The view of Dr. Haimendorf that the Dravidians in their southern march followed the West Coast till they came to the Mysore plateau is more than confirmed by very early Tamil literature. It is well known to all who can claim some knoweledge of South Indian society that the caste of people known as the Vellalas is a vast Dravidian community embracing within it many divisions like the Mudaliars, the Pillais and several others. From the days of *Tolkappiyam* of the seventh century B.C. South Indian society was divided into four main categories (*arasar* or kings, *anthanar* or Brahmans, *vanigar* or merchants and *vellalar* or cultivators), from which it would be obvious that the community of the Vellalas is a very ancient one and that it must have comprised many castes which go now under the comprehensive title, "non-Brahman". Tamil literature furnishes a definite proof that such a community of Dravidians stayed for some time in the north and then migrated into the south again in very early times through the Mysore region. This is clearly referred to in a poem of the *Puram-Four Hundred* attributed to poet Kapilar whose date has been fixed to C. 200 A.D. The poem referred to given in English transliteration runs as under :

> "*Neeye-vadapan munivan thadavinul thonri*
> *Sempunainthyiraiya senedum purisai*
> *Uvaravikai thuvarai yandu*
> *narpathonpathu valimurai vantha*
> *velirul vele.*"
>
> *Puram-201.*

In this poem the poet addresses the Irukkuvel chieftain of Arayam in the territory of modern Mysore requesting him to marry the daughters of a chieftain, Vel Pari, who had died in battle leaving them helpless. The poem that follows this in the anthology referred to mentions the relationship between the two chieftains

also. There is no doubt that these were the ancestors of the Vellala community and the poet, as is obvious, points to their coming to the south from the north after a stay in the West Coast in the region around modern Kathiawar (Tuvarai-Dwaraka). The chieftain at the time the poet meets him is in Arayam in Mysore. Later we find him in the old State of Pudukottah near Trichinopoly.[6]

The conclusion to which these facts would lead us is that a number of Vellala families emigrated into the south at some early date and that their way southwards lay through the West Coast and Mysore. The above quoted poem also gives an indication of the probable time of this migration, since it refers to the Irukkuvel chieftain as of the forty-ninth generation of the Vellalas who had come from the north, which would roughly date the migration to 1,000 B.C. or 800 B.C. since the peom is dated *C.* 200 A.D. The fact mentioned by the great commentator, Naccinarkiniyar, in his comment of the preface to *Tolkappiyam* in which he connects a Velir migration southwards to the advent of the sage Agastya, whose date also is placed around 800 B.C. only confirms this conclusion.

There can be really no doubt that the region of modern Mysore was very important from very early times and served as a kind of half-way-house for all who descended on the south from the north. The fact of the pious expedition of Chandragupta and a band of Jain ascetics led by Bhadrabahu reaching Mysore in the first half of the third century B.C. and their even dying there is related by Harisena in his *Brihatkatha* and is now accepted as truth on all hands. Traces of As'ōkan supremacy in this region can be seen to this day. The silver punch-marked coins of the Mauryans were found here as far south as Coimbatore and the Kosar who ruled over Kongu in the second century A.D. are mentioned as early as the time of As'ōka in his inscriptions, where they are unmistakably referred to by the term '*Satyaputra*' (designated in Tamil works of the second

6. See Pudukottai Inscriptions; also my *Early History of the Vellar Babin* for a detailed discussion of this subject.

century A.D. as "*Vaymoli Kosar*" or the "truth-speaking" Kosar). The Rattas, who came to rule in the latter region in the first centuries of the Christian era came there only through Karnātaka and Mysore. It was also the same with the Gangas. The region of Mysore was so well-known in ancient times that even the Chinese seem to have traded with her as early as the first or second century A.D. In the years 1908-09 a brass Chinese coin was discovered at Chandravalli in Mysore and Mr. Taw Sein Ko, the Superintendent of Archæology in Burma, who examined it has actually dated it *C.* 132 B.C. This would clearly show how early this region was known to people as far away as China.[7]

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7. See *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Pt. 1, pp. 76-77.

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YEARLY RECORD OF THE MISSION OF CARUAR
(Fathers of the Discalced Carmelites)

Written by Father P. F. Francis Xavier of St. Anne about the year 1832

TRANSLATED BY S. SILVA

IN the history of Canara, the work of the two missionaries, *viz.* Abbé Dubois and Father Francis Xavier of St. Anne can be written in letters of gold. Father Francis was the glory of the Carmelite Order in India as Abbé Dubois was of the Mission '*E'trangéres.*'

The Treatise 'The Annals of the Mission of Caruar' was written in Sunkeri. It is an unbiassed, excellent and original work by a marvellous man deserving great publicity. It sheds great light on the manifofd problems of the time which were of so confused a nature.

It was written in Latin and remained in manuscript for a long time, until it was edited and printed by Dr. Ambrosi in Rome in 1939. My acquaintance with the Mother Prioress (Mother Joseph) of St. Joseph's Convent, Tiruvalla, enabled me to get a copy of a rare manuscript of the history of the Carmelite Order in Sunkeri. On reading it I was led to trace the original work of Father Francis Xavier himself. The General of the Carmelite Order was pleased to send me the printed Latin work along with some Latin works relating to the Carmelite history.

I was impelled to translate it into English to set at rest many of the false theories that arose in Mangalore both about the author and the work. My efforts have been helped by my friend Fr. Jerome D'Souza, S. J., Ex-M.L.A. (Central), Ex-Principal, Loyola College, Madras, who got the original translated by the students of the De Nobili College at Poona. I am grateful to both.

I am obliged to Dr. K. N. V. Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), F.R. Hist. S. (England) and to Sri S. Srikantaya, the General Secretary of the Mythic Society for publishing my translation.

I must gratefully mention that I have obtained the consent of Father Lucas, a learned Carmelite in the monastery at Goa for the publication of this bare translation.

S. SILVA.

THE TEXT *

JESUS MARIA

Father Francis Xavier of St. Anne Discalced sends his best greetings to the Caruar Missionaries—his successors.

It is certain and indubitable that through the news of the labours of the predecessors, their successors are excited to labour: It is certain again and beyond doubt that the news of what has been done in the past helps much to utilize well the present period and the future. Therefore I thought it opportune to compose this short history so that you might be able to know, as it were by one glance of the eye, all things worthy of mention which were done in this mission by our predecessors from the very beginning upto the present.

Whatever is historic must be held as true, for I have gathered all facts from sources deserving all belief, namely, partly from books and leaflets written by the missionaries themselves in their own days, partly from eye and ear witnesses (whom I often talked to) who had long time acquaintance with our missionaries and finally a part of it from what happened to myself.

Excuse me please, my brothers, if I have not set this down in a more elegant style, in purer speech of Latin, for the object in writing was not to show skill in grammar, rhetoric or the Latin language, but to place before your eyes somehow the deeds of all our predecessors. Farewell.

*** The attention of our readers is invited to rule No. 12 of the rules of the Mythic Society which runs as follows:**

"*Neither the Editor nor the Society is responsible for the views expressed by the contributors in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.*"

It is also probable that the views expressed in this article may have been considerably exaggerated even in those times.

Ed.

CHAPTER I

Geographical Description of the Caruar Mission

The territory of this mission is situated at the Western Coast of India; namely, in the Western Coast of that part of India which is called by the Geographers as the Great Indian Peninsula which from the Gulf of Cambaj extends up to Cape Camorin. Its northern latitude is from the degree 14.43 up to 14.47 approximately. And it is extending from the west to the east about twelve miles. At the west it has the sea as the boundary, called the Indian Ocean; on the north the great river called the Calli Nathi (namely, Black River). It is known to very few that the river in the rainy season has sweet water up to its mouth, but that during the other months the sea provides it with water as far as many miles from the mouth. On the east it has very high mountains called the ghats; on the south the territory of Ancola.

The whole territory has beautiful plains and hills and mountains. That big river, which is at the north, about the third mile from the mouth is divided into two, the one of which the smaller enters into the territory of this mission turning towards the north and afterwards proceeding to the south as far as the mountains, not with a long course. To its right there is found the village called Caruar or Caroar which gave the name to the whole territory and to the mission and which is almost about the centre of the whole territory.

Within the whole territory there are many villages but no towns. Towards the mountain side it abounds in trees useful for any work. Wild beasts too and birds are not rare. But, first of all, tigers are most abundant which at night descending into the plains to the very villages and sometimes to the very huts devour not only animals but men also. In the plains rice, coccus and other fruits grow. The hills if cultivated produce vegetables. The sea and rivers supply fish in sufficient quantity. In the country side the inhabitants plant sugarcane, from which is made sugar elsewhere; but here sugar is not made either because they don't know or don't want; in the place of sugar they make a certain lump very sweet but black from the juice condensed by the

ebullition of those sugarcanes. Both in the forests and sometimes also in the country cinnamon trees are found. But they are of no use at all because the farmers do not know to extract from them the aromatic cinnamon. The air here is pure and water is mostly good, heat is moderate, cold is felt. There is a double vicissitude of seasons, as in the whole of India, namely of rain and of dryness.

The inhabitants of the place are mostly idolaters divided into their own tribes as in the whole of India. Muhammadans are not many. Christians are few; there is only one church for the Christians; two Muhammadan temples; but innumerable shrines of idolaters. All however are narrow and very despicable. Language is multifarious, the more common is the language of Concàm, which therefore is called Concanim or Concunem. Indoostany is commonly spoken by Muhammadans, Maratha of which all who write make use in writing; Canarese is proper to the kingdom of Canara; we can also add the Sanskrit language which the priests of the idolaters use in their ceremonies and which is common to all men of this kind in the whole of India.

The morals of the people are very bad. They are plunderers, deceitful, avaricious and mostly very lazy; these vices are common to all. Drunkenness is added to the Christians and very great indolence in things which concern religion, and to the Muhammadans and to some tribes of the idolaters is added barbarity and cruelty not small. All infidels are very much addicted to the extremes, to the superstitions and to their own sects. The Muhammadans followed not the Arab or Turkish sects, but the Persian heresy and are also descending from the Persian religions. If you exclude the Brahmin tribe and a few Muhammadans, all others are men of astonishing inactivity (apathy), rude, dull, ignorant like horses and mules, which have no intellect. Brahmins, on the contrary, whether they are those addicted to the sacred ceremonies or all others are very cunning, are most astute, most crafty in fraud, in falsehood and in deceit most expert,—or which no worse people can be found under the sun.

Nearly all men among the inhabitants go about with bare body; the shameful parts barely covered with palm leaves, they think to

be clothed sufficiently although all other parts are bare. But sometimes for the sake of show they are clothed besides with a little longer white cloth which they carry under the arms or over one shoulder or hang from the neck. In the time of cold and rain they use a rather rough blanket. But the Brahmins and most of the Muhammadans and many others dress themselves on festive days with a kind of white tunic and wrap around the loins down to the knees a white sheet, which in the manner of an apron cover the hips and the buttocks. The head, which they shave off for the most part, excepting a tuft of hair on the top, is surrounded by a small linen cloth either white or yellow or of various colours. Many grow beard above the upper lip, but nobody except a few Muhammadans grows beard. They walk mostly barefooted, but sometimes use slippers or sandals. The women cover the whole body with a long and generally variously depicted cloth as far as the shin bone, but nevertheless the arms are always bare, unless in so far as they are covered as far as the elbow by glassy and silver arm rings. They not only adorn but burden rather the ears and neck with gold, not nevertheless with jewels. Those of the idolaters who have actually a husband, carry, as almost in the whole of India a ring or rather a golden hook in the nostrils, tie the hair, which they foster with great care, in the back part of the head and always they adorn it with flowers. All, both poor and rich, always walk with bare feet, and indeed in such a way that they think it most unbecoming to use any shoe. They very often insert silver rings between the toes of the feet. The houses to inhabit are small, most low and almost all equal : no use at all of windows so that the door being shut there is perfect darkness ; and from the door, because always very small and half covered by tatties, such small quantity of light enters, that those who enter it even at noon do not see anything. Such houses or rather huts are made of soil, are covered with straw ; sometimes also they are both covered and entirely made or built of branches alone of cocoanut trees. The furniture is equal to the majesty of the houses ; you will not find there anything except some pots, a rough candlestick and some mats which take the place of beds ; no table, no cupboard, no stool or anything else.

CHAPTER II

A VERY SHORT HISTORY OF THIS TERRITORY

Since all who are Indians do not take any care at all about the history of the times and if they have some memory of the times gone by, mix to it innumerable fabrications of fables; hence it turns out impossible to find the true notion of past times. Nevertheless from three centuries we have some definite records in the historians of the Persians, Arabs and Europeans from which we can certainly gather those things which we shall say at once about the various changes in the kingdoms, to which also this territory was subject. But before we proceed to this, the tradition has to be related, which is here found about the origin of the inhabitants of this territory. They say, then, that giants lived here at first, whose heights reached up to 21 cubits. The name of these giants is "Daita" or "Dait": Other men whom they call "Abu" followed, who having defeated the giants, took possession of the land. There exists even now a tribe among the idolaters which retains this name "Abu"; and it is a tribe reputed by all the most noble of all the tribes, but it is composed of very few individuals; lastly there came other men from the Mediterranean regions, namely, from Concam who became masters along with the remaining "Abu"; from this place Concum from where they are sprung, they are called Concanni or Concni, and constitute a special tribe very extensive. The sovereignty of these in the course of time was very greatly restricted by foreign kings, who in the course of time subdued this province: Now their rule is reduced absolutely to this, that they hire out to others the fields which belong to the treasury and collect tributes and taxes within their respective districts and pay them to the treasury and are just as channels through whom the decrees of the king or ruler are both published and carried out. If in this tradition you connect those things which are said about giants, all other things are not to be rejected; those that are narrated about giants will be easily corrected if you say that they were giants not in body but only in name. Certainly as I have often heard in the neighbouring provinces to the south, namely, in the provinces of Canara there is extant a certain tribe among the

idolaters whose name is precisely "Daita" that is giants; therefore it could have been that this tribe had been the first lord of this our province. All other tribes which live here are aliens and never truly possessed the land as all avow.

At the time when the Mughal Empire mostly flourished under the successors of Tamerlane, this our province too was subject to it. However as it declined, namely, when many governors of the great provinces having put on the royal diadem by themselves, revolted against the Mughal Emperor, this territory of ours passed into the hands of the Visapur (Bijapur) Muhammadans who were having the surname "Idal Sciah" or "Adil Sciah" and it has so remained up to the year 1630. After these the king of Sunda became the lord: he was an idolater from that tribe which is called Lingayat and was having his seat in Sunda or rather Sundem from which the name was given to the whole kingdom. He was defeated and totally overthrown by Haider Aly Khan from the Muhammadan sect, who had once been the general of the army of Mysore. Afterwards namely, in the year 1761, during the infancy of the lawful king, had made himself the ruler of the whole kingdom, and finally in the year 1771 the youthful king having been murdered, as absolute master had taken possession of the kingdom, assuming the title of Nawab. He brought many kingdoms under his own rule, among which almost the whole kingdom of Sunda: hence the king of Sunda after nearly 130 years having been driven out of his own works, sold to the Portuguese two provinces which up to now had remained to him *viz.* the provinces of Canacona and Ponda or Fonda, having reserved to himself and his successors the royal name. All the kindoms which he had conquered, Nawab Haider Aly Khan left to his son Tippu Saib Bahadur who ascended the throne in the year 1782, the name of the Nawab having been spurned, took another more magnificent title and wished to be called Sultan. We shall speak of this most wicked tyrant in the course of the history. He was defeated and killed by the English May 4, 1799. Then the English became masters as of many other provinces as well of this our territory, and they dominate here even until now.

About the year 1620 under the Visaporean kings, the English Company of traders in the Indies obtained a license to build, in the village called Sunkeri near the bank of a small river a great house of business called Factory, with a double fortification armed with a few cannons, and to keep in that place perpetually the English flag, and a garrison of English soldiers. And the building was built in the village of Sunkeri, in the field called Totti, which they had received from the royal treasury in perpetuity with the obligation of paying six golden pieces which they called pagodas. The reason for building this house of business was that at that time here trade was flourishing very much, and the village Caruar, which now is a small village and almost unknown was a place of great fame and of great commerce: for there in the greatest part pepper, cardamom, etc. and cloth of every kind either were produced or were exported or worked out. The English not only continued, but increased much such commerce so that according to some references of those times, 10,000 men were occupied for the English. We shall see at the proper place in the course of the history which was the cause why in the year 1725 the English left this most useful trade place and why such and such great commerce ceased entirely.

From the old examples allured some Germans who recently had formed in the Indies a society—business with a great show, in the year 1779 under the rule of Nawab Haider Aly Khan, even they built a house of business in the village Nundangaddhu in the place where flow together the small with the big river: for burdened with debts, not receiving any profit from the commerce, having dissolved the society after a few years returned to their own land.

(*To be continued*)

THE ÆSTHETIC CATEGORIES *

BY DR.P.S.SASTRI, M.A., M.Litt., Ph.D.

LOVE is an important feature of all life, whether human or animal; and a great deal of literature is devoted to it. This concept of love is too wide and huge, anything and everything can be comprehended in it:

> "*Prēma rasē sarvē rasā antarbhavantītyatra mahīyān ēva prapancaḥ*"[28]

Even in love we find various phases like attachment, friendship, affection and sexual love proper. Treated as '*s'ṛngāra*' it has many subdivisions. Some diligent critics have tried to make a distinction between *s'ṛngāra* (love) and *sambhoga* (mating). The former is experienced by the enlightened and developed human beings alone, while the latter is seen universally throughout the animated part of the universe. Further, this *s'ṛngāra* being a state of joy is different from '*vipralambha*' (love in separation) since the latter moves round pathos. *Vipralambha* is based on some sort of yearning or pining (*autsukya*) for the necessary object of love. Such a longing is really a case of love.[29] If, on the other hand, *vipralambha* is totally distinct from *s'ṛngāra*, it becomes a sub-form of *karuṇa*.

Sambhoga as distinct from '*s'ṛngāra*' is only the procreative instinct which can tend to develop a disposition called lust. However the part played by the mating instinct in love cannot be too lightly brushed aside as it is universally found.[30] Latest researches

* Continued from Vol. XLIV. Page 149

28. Alankāra Kaustubha; P. 148.

29. "*Ratim ubhaya prārthanā kurute*"
(Abhijñāna S'ākuntalam, II. 1.)

30, See Kumārasvāmin: P. 21.
"*Tad uktam Vidyādhareṇa—'vibhāvādi sambhavo hi rasam prati prayojakam, na vibhāvādi jnānam. Tataśca tiras'cām astyēva rasaḥ*".
Cf. Rasārṇava Sudhākara, Pp. 206-209.

clearly point out the way in which monogamy is strictly adhered to even amongst the birds. That a human being can have no '*citta samvāda*' in the presentation of the love of birds and that therefore æsthetic experience is confined only to the human level, is no argument since the universality of the æsthetic experience cannot afford to reject anything of value and significance in the universe outside. Singhabhūpāla rejects the æsthetic nature of the love of birds which essentially includes mating, on the ground that an æsthetic experience is human. Hence it is that he makes a distinction between *vibhāva* and *kāraṇa*[31] apparently forgetting that both the words mean fundamentally the same. The two words refer to that cross section of the universe which is the field of experience. Glowing descriptions of the amorous animals and birds in the third canto of Kumārasambhava can by no stretch of logic be rejected as unpoetical under the head '*rasābhāsa*.' Critics have made out that a representation of sexual love involves impropriety (*anaucitya*) and is therefore a mockery of æsthetic experience. One can only ask such critics to read the third canto of Kumārasambhava and find out whether there is any impropriety therein. If we reject the activities of the birds as unæsthetic, the æsthetic object ought to be only a human being. In such a case we have to reject much of the nature-poetry which is the most valuable part of the world's literature.

Returning to the problem of human love and its æsthetic significance, we find it as an important æsthetic experience, which for want of a better term, can be described in terms of pure feeling. This feeling is pure, simple and universal love, the "perfect love of human nature" which is broadened and deepened into a specific

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31. Rasārṇava Sudhākara, P. 206.

"*Atha svajāti yogya dharmaiḥ karinām kariṇim prati vibhavatvam iti cen, na. Tasyām kakṣyam kariṇām kariṇīm prati kāraṇatvam, na punaḥ vibhāvatvam . . . . Kim ca jāti yogyair arthair vastuno na vibhāvatam, api tu bhāvaka cittollāsa hetubhīraḥ viśiṣṭair ēva*".

love of the human and the divine in nature.[32] Consequently the great masters are never satisfied with depicting love as purely carnal but as finding its consummation in their progeny.[33] It is the child that unites the lover and the beloved into one, as Kāḷidāsa[34] and Bhavabhūti [25] have taught us. Here we find love developing into a non-sexual and purely spiritual experience.

Prēyas or *vātsalya* is a non-sexual aspect of love. While Rudrata considered *prēyas* to be a sentiment,[36] Udbhaṭa accepted it as *bhāva-kāvya* [37]—the poetry of *bhāva*. The earlier writers accepted it as a sweet expression. [38] Any good poetic expression can thus turn out to be a case of *prēyas*. [39] Such sweetness is closer to love; and the æstheticians have discovered three phases of non-sexual love. One is based on friendship (*snēha*) and called *prēyas*; [40] the second is founded on domestic affections and is called *vātsalya*; [41] and the other springs from public affections and is called *prīti*. [42] A fourth phase can be noticed in ***bhakti*** which was expounded brilliantly by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. This *bhakti* or devotion presupposes faith or conviction (*s'raddhā*). But all these are only *bhāvas* comprehended in enthusiasm and joy,

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32. *Cf.* Hermann Cohen :
Aesthetik des reinen Gefühls.
33. See Schopenhauer. *World as Will and Idea.* Volume III. pp.336, *on The Metaphysics of the love of the sexes.*
34. *Abhijñāna S'ākuntalam.VII. 17.*
35. *Uttara Rāma Critam.III. 17.*
36. *Kāvyālaṅkāra.12.3.*
37. *Kāvyālankāra Sāra Sangraha.IV. 2.*
38. Cf. " *Pēyaḥ priyatarākhyānam.*"(Dandin, II. 275.)
39. Pratihārendurāja : on Udbhata. IV.2.
" *Ēvam bhāva kāvyasya prēyassvad iti lakṣaṇayā vyapadēs'aḥ.*"
40. Rudraṭa : 15. 17
41. *Sāhitya Darpaṇa,* III. 251.
42. *Sarasvatī Kanṭhābharaṇa,* V. 138.

as the Das'arūpaka points out.[43] These are the thoughts and feelings (*bhāvas*) that enter into love taken in a catholic sense.[44]

This love is at the root of all sentiments. Love of a woman, love of laughter, love of enthusiasm and the like can be enumerated for all sentiments. The absence of love makes all conation dull and insipid. Bhoja therefore tells us,

"*Rasam tv iha prēmāṇam evāmananti.*"

[S'ṛngāra Prakās'a. II. 352.]

However, one fails to understand how there can be love of anger that does not lead to insolence and love of sorrow that does not make one sentimental and morbid. If one loves anger or disgust for the sake of anger or disgust, he alienates himself from human sympathy; and to that extent he falls outside the social organism and the æsthetic world. But if love be taken to mean creative sympathy, it becomes foundational to all experience, æsthetic and otherwise.

The Agni Purāṇa offers an interesting theory of love. '*Ahankāra*' is a quality of the self giving rise to '*abhimāna*' which *abhimāna* issues itself into love or *rati*. The various sentiments, says the Agni Purāṇa, are the modifications and appearances of this *rati*. *Ānanda* which is the natural feature of the universal consciousness is manifested through *camatkāra* or *rasa*; and the first modification or appearance of *rasa* is *ahankāra*.[45] *Rasa* is the foundational consciousness and its first

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43. IV, 84.

44. See *Abh.Bh.*1.342; *Kāvyānus'āsana*, P. 68; *Sangīta Ratnākara* P.839.

45. Agni Purāṇa, 339. 2ff.

"*Ānandas sahajas tasya vyajyate sa kadācana*
Vyaktis sā tasya caitanya camatkāra rasāhvayā
ādyas tasya vikāro yaḥ so '*hankāra iti smṛtaḥ*
Tato 'bhimānaḥ tatredam samāptam bhuvana trayam.
Ābhimānād ratīs sā ca paripoṣam upēyuṣī
Vyabhicāry ādi sāmanyāt s'ṛngāra iti giyatē.
Tad bhedāḥ kāman itare hāsyādyā apy anekas'āḥ
sva sva sthāyi vis'ēṣottha paripoṣa sva lakṣaṇāḥ."

self-limitation is *ahankāra* or the ego. The ego functions in and through self-love. Consequently there can be no experience that does not offer a place to love. In the æsthetic experience we have love coming back on itself :

" *Sṛngārī cēt kaviḥ kāvyē jātam rasamayam jagat*
Sa ēva cēd aśṛngārī nīrasam sarvam ēva tat. [46]

When a poet realizes this love, then will he create an æsthetic universe. Otherwise he will fall a prey to the unæsthetic and therefore unreal fictions.

According to this school of æsthetics there is only one *rasa* or æsthetic category ; and it appears as *ahankāra* or *abhimāna* in every soul. It is felt as self-love and is called *s'ṛngāra.* This self-love reveals itself not only as love but also as respect (*abhimāna*) for one's self and attachment to the objects of the universe. Out of the respect for and attachment to the objects we find the various *bhāvas* coming into existence. The love embodied in the concept of *s'ṛngāra* thus has two essential phases—the subjective and the objective. When all these *bhāvas* finally develop into one *rasa* called *prēma* or love, we have a phase of love that comprehends within itself the subjective and the objective aspects. This phase can be described as one of absolute love. It is absolute in the sense that it is the embodiment of a harmonious experience which is highly concrete.

There are distinct features of this experience expressed by three words. At the outset it is spoken of as *ahankāra* because it brings about a refinement and sublimation of the human consciousness. It is treated as *abhimāna* which is self-love and self-respect, because all the suffering that one has to undergo in the æsthetic experience is directed towards that satisfaction which is love and which is the feature of the self. It is called *s'ṛngāra* because it is a transcendental experience.[47] The human consciousness becomes

46. Agni Purāṇa, 339,2 ff.

47. Bhatta Narasimha on Sarasvati Kānṭhābharaṇa, 5, 1;
" *Yēna rasyatē, yēna anukūla vēdanīyatayā duḥkham api sukhatvēna abhimanyatē, yēna rasikaiḥ ahankriyatē, yēna s'ṛngam ucchrayorīatēya, sa khalu tādṛs'o 'sti.*"

expansive and illuminative as it is sublimated or is made impersonal; and the æsthetic experience offers an abiding satisfaction to the abiding consciousness in and through love.

However, the experience of the æsthetic state of love is declared by Bhoja not to be universal because of the empirical evidence. But it is absolutely impossible to account for such a lack of universality since the æsthetic state of love arises from the realization of self-consciousness. Yet the realization is hindered or aided by the past experiences. As a result all people have the æsthetic experience of love in varying degrees.[48] Love is the first manifestation of desire and desire is the first reaction of the self to the world of objects.[49] Both love and desire are comprehended in *kāma* which when idealised becomes *s'ṛngāra*. The subjective or personal element being uppermost in all activity, self-love is universally found. As the Upaniṣad declares, one loves everything else for the sake of his self.[50] This universality makes love an indispensable feature of the æsthetic experience. But by love we cannot and should not mean a pleasant feeling, since the depth and intensity of love is seen to depend to a large extent on pain. It is a state that is dear to the self. It is a compound of pleasure and pain and as such it is an inclusive state.

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48. S'ṛngara Prakās'a : II. 370 ff.

"*Kas'cid rasikaḥ, kascit tu nīraso dṛs'yate. Na ca dṛṣṭa viparītam s'akyam anujnātum. Ato na sarvasya ratyādayo jāyante. Atha kas'yacit. Tatra nimittam abhidhānīyam. Tad dṛṣṭam, adṛṣṭam vāsyāt. Na tāvad dṛṣṭam, anupalabhyamanantvāt. Adṛṣṭam tu sādharaṇam asādhāraṇam va? Sādhāraṇe pūrva eva doṣaḥ, sarvam jagad rasikam syād iti. Asādhāraṇam tu pratyag ātma gata anādi vāsanānubandhi dharma kāryam bhavitum arhati.*"

49. Ṛgveda, X. 129.2 :

"*Kāmas tad agre sam avartatādhi manaso retaḥ prathamam yad āsīt.*"

50. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanisad : II. 4,5.

Ātmanas tu kāmāya sarvam priyam bhavatī."

All the thoughts, feelings and ideas emanate from the ego (*ahankāra*). The love of the ego is of primary importance to every human experience. This is a form of self-love (*abhimāna*) and in the widest sense love (*s'ṛngāra*) itself. The awareness of the ego enables the individual to love others. Bhoja considers the ego or self-love to be the only *rasa*, to be the æsthetic experience proper. All the sentiments are taken to be its manifestations or modifications. So he observes :

> " *Raso 'bhimāno 'hamkāraḥ s'ṛngāra iti gīyatē*
> *Yo'rthas tasyānvayāt kāvyam kamanīyatvam as'nute.*"
> *Vis'iṣṭādṛṣta janmāyam janminām antarātmasu*
> *ātma samyag guṇodbhūter ēko hētuḥ prakās'ate.*" [51]

This is love that is realised not at one moment but is being constantly realised and won. This process has a great antiquity and its history is at times traced to the past incarnations of the soul. Even if we admit of such a process towards the complete realization, one fails to understand how such a love can be called a quality or property of the self,[52] for consciousness has no qualities but is only a manifesting medium. This love like any other category reflects or reveals consciousness. Further, anything is experienced only through *ahankāra* which is the first affirmation of the self. This *ahankāra* cannot be said to be a quality of the self but a limitation of the self. This correction implies that consciousness is fundamental and foundational to all experience, while the æsthetic categories including love are its manifestations or appearances.

The various sentiments are imaginatively apprehended as

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51. Sarasvati Kaṇṭhābharaṇa, *V*. 1, 2. Cf. S'ṛngāra Prakās'a, I. 1 :
" *Ātma sthitam guṇa vis'ēṣam ahankṛtasya*
sṛngāram ā hur iha jīvitam ātmayoneḥ
tasyātma s'akti rasanīyatayā rasatvam
yuktasya yēna rasiko 'yam iti pravādaḥ."

52. " *Tac cātmano 'hankāra guṇa vis'eṣam brūmaḥ, Sa S'ṛngāraḥ, so 'bhimānaḥ, sa rasaḥ. Tata etē ratyādayo jāyantē,*" [Sr. Pr. II. 355-356.]

bhāvas or psychoses. The æsthetic experience (*rasa*) proper is said to arise after this stage :

" *Ābhāvanodayam ananya dhiyā janena*
yo bhāvyate manasi bhāvanayā sa bhāvaḥ
yo bhāvanā patham atītya vivartamānaḥ
sāhankṛtau hṛdi param svadate easo 'sau." [53]

Bhoja here takes it for granted that the æsthetic experience arises a fter the imaginative apprehension. But there is no such succession of events ; and as Abhinavagupta has shown even in Bhaṭṭanāyaka's theory *bhoga* and *bhāvanā* overlap into one another.[54] If the imaginative apprehension ceases, the æsthetic experience automatically comes to an end.

Returning to Bhoja, we find him analysing the æsthetic experience into three phases. In the first there is the one *ahankāra*. Then this gets itself differentiated into the forty-nine *bhāvas* of Bharata, each *bhāva* being capable of developing into a sentiment Finally all these develop into *prēma* or love which slides again into *ahankāra*. Arguing in this way Daṇḍin, Lollaṭa and Bhoja take the æsthetic state (*rasa*) to be nothing but the intense development (*prakarṣādhigama*) of the *sthāyin*. Such a development does not keep quiet either before or after it has come into existence. It continuously transforms the nature of the self and therefore the outlook on the world of objects. This change is described thus by Bhoja.[55]

" *Sattvātmanām amala dharma vis'ṣea janmā*
janmāntarānubhava nirmita vāsanotthaḥ
sarvātma sampad udayātis'ayaika hetuḥ
jāgarti ko 'pi hṛdi mānamayo vikāraḥ"

The impressions coming from the noble experiences of the past purify the soul so well that it becomes *sāṭṭvika*. It exists in a state of harmony and peace. And when it is awakened to some definite experience, it reveals itself through feeling. This feeling is one of attachment or of love coming from the *ahankāra* which

53. *S'r. Pr.* I. 8.
54. See Abh. Bh. I. 2.
55. S'ṛngāra Prakāsā. I. 2.

is the modification of the self. Its real nature is therefore one of *sattva*. It is characterised by harmony, repose and self-completion. Thus there functions the intellect or thought which is predominantly *sāttvika*. This *sāttvika* intellect is the same as the self.[56] Bhoja thus appears to beat about and about the track, feeling all the while that he is giving out something that differs from Abhinavagupta's account. But in essence he is expounding the same theory in a phraseology which makes the account fall short of the truth.

This theory has a close parallel in Abercrombie who observes: "Anyhow the innermost reality, the one with which art is most dearly concerned is what is commonly called the spiritual reality......... Let me call it the emotional reality by which I do not entirely mean the plane of such named and recognisable emotions as love, anger, hate, but rather the general substratum to all existence, emotion nameless and unappointed. This is the layer of flame which is the closest we can get to the central fire, to the will to love, or whatever you like to call it. An impression of this profound emotional reality is what art must convey."[57] The spiritual reality is that foundational consciousness (*samvid*) which is at the core of all experience. This in the language of Bhoja is the same as '*ahankārābhimāna s'ṛngāra*.' The recognisable emotions refer to the æsthetic imagination (*bhāvana patham*). Bhoja's æsthetic state transcends this stage, just as Bhaṭṭanāyaka's '*bhoga*' is the æsthetic experience that follows the imaginative activity (*bhāvanā vyāpāra*).

Bhoja's theory of *s'ṛngārā* has a great affinity with Freudian psycho-analysis where the sex-instinct is the primal one. Bhoja's *ahaṅkāra* is the ego-libido while *abhimāna* is the object-libido of Freud. When these two are identified with self-love we get the Narcissus complex. To the psycho-analyst art is the imaginative fulfilment of the violently repressed sexual desires. In the æsthetic experience accordingly one finds the gratification of the sexual

56. Yoga Sūtra, 3.55:

"*Sattva puruṣayoḥ s'uddhi sāmyē kaivalyam iti.*"

57. Function of Poetry in Drama.

impulses. The erotic desires and impulses are hidden in the unconscious from where they ceaselessly clamour for an outlet. In art it is the unconscious of the artist that speaks to the unconscious of the spectator. This unconscious is essentially sexual and the energy that determines the behaviour is called the libido. Though the artistic activity emanates from this libido, the psycho-analyst accepts that art is the highest expression of all activity, from pan-sexuality to anti-sexuality.[58] However, these are only the forms assumed by love through sub-limitation. When the internal or external means of satisfaction fail completely, the regression of the libido or the sexual impulse is said to give rise to artistic activity.[59] Through the work of art the individual is enabled to purge away all superfluous excitation and have that satisfaction which the unconscious demands.

Yet the artist is unable to give vent to the feelings that stir his unconscious, though these feelings enable him to experience pleasure. Over and against the pleasure-principle there is the reality-principle which demands of the artist to conform to the needs and tastes of the social organism.[60] What the artist does is to sublimate his pleasure-principle to the reality-principle.[61] The work of art, therefore, is, like a dream, a symptom of neuroses, giving us a clue to the workings of the unconscious. The æsthetic satisfaction consequently lies in the apprehension of the unconscious which is purely sexual. In this connection it is better to note that the sex-instinct of Freud is wider and more comprehensive than the instinct of mating.

In the æsthetic experience proper there is little that can warrant such a speculation. Saturated by feeling and in a contemplative mood the subject apprehends an object which is a unity of content and form. The mind of the subject is intensely active in comprehending the object as an organic whole. In such

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58. Otto Rank: *Der Küenstler* P. 50.
59. See. *Das Inzest-Motiv in Dichtung und saga*.
60. See, Freud's *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-analysis* : pt. 3.
61. See, however Freud's : *Beyond The Pleasure-Principle* : where he corrects his earlier arguments.

a state the individual gets rid of his egotistical impulses[62] and is transformed so well that the world is felt to be a pure perceptual appearance. Then the object unfolds a value and the individual is awakened to the large realm of cultural values.[63] The supreme values and ideals of human life are beauty, truth, goodness and holiness ; and it is a sheer mockery to reduce these into the sexual impulses and desires.

Yet there is an element of truth in this approach to the problem, In emphasising love or *s'ṛngāra,* these critics are in reality insisting on the need for artistic sympathy without which no æsthetic experience is possible. Bharata thus observes:

" *Prāyēṇa sarva bhāvānām kāmān niṣpattir iṣyate*
sā ceccha guṇa sampanno bahudhā pari kalpitaḥ
Dharmakāmō, 'rtha kāmas'ca mōkṣa kāmās tathaivaca
yat tu strī puruṣayor yogaḥ samo yoga iti smṛtaḥ.
Yaḥ strī puruṣa samyogo rati sambhoga kārakaḥ
Sa s'ṛngāra iti jnēya upacāra kṛtaḥ s'ubhaḥ" [64]

All the ideas and thoughts emanate from love which is in essence an active mood of sympathy. It is an entering into the life of things. These ideas and thoughts are translated into various activities of love. Thus we have the love of virtue, love of truth, love of beatitude and the like. What we mean by love of the sexes is not love in an ultimate sense. Love of righteousnes, love of *artha* and love of love, have their own distinctive features.[65] All

62. See. *Saugar University Journal* : 1953. pp. 105 ff. and 1954, pp.81 ff.
63. *Cf.* Volkelt, *System der Aesthetik*, II. pp. 291.
64. Nātya S'āstra, 22,89-93.
65. Nātya S'āstra, 18,124-127.

" *Trividhas'cātra vidhijnaiḥ pṛthak pṛthak kāryayoga vihitārthaḥ*
s'ṛngāraḥ kartavyo dharmē cārthē ca kāmē ca
yatra tu dharma samāpakamātma hitam bhavati sādhanam bahudhā
Vrata niyama tapō yukto jneyo 'sau dharma s'ṛngāraḥ
Arthasy ecchāyogād bahudhā caivārthato 'rtha s'ṛngāraḥ
Strī samprayoga viṣayesv ayāthārtham apīṣyate hi ratiḥ
Kanyā vilobhana krtam prāptau strī puruṣayos tu ramyamvā
nibhṛtam vā sāvegany tasyabhaved vā kāma s'ṛngāraḥ."

these are characterised by love which is pure and simple artistic sympathy (*citta samvāda*). Such a sympathy involves the oneness of the individual with his object.

How should we account for this love? The values that we spoke of are rooted in human nature which is purposive. The private ends of the individual are an expression of those universal urges that are vital. All these urges are directed to the self-realization of one and only one absolute value which comprehends in itself the four values of beauty, truth, goodness and holiness. These four values reflect the essence of that supreme value as conditioned by space and time. This essence is called love. [66] It is the self-realization of absolute love that is the end of all processes. This absolute love is the same as the nature of the self or consciousness. Hence it is said that the individual who contemplates the Absolute might imagine that he is freeing himself from love and desire; but love itself will laugh at him since he has the love of the Absolute Experience.[67] It is he who loves the self that overcomes all desires and action.[68] This is the love of the Absolute where the Absolute conceived as universal consciousness happens to be the highest embodiment of love. The æsthetic expression of such a love gives rise to the romantic art-form into which all psychoses enter to receive their consummation and fulfilment.[69]

It is in the romantic art-form that one gets a glimpse of that love which is the basis of *dharma* (*Sittlichkeit*) and '*artha*.' [70]

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66. Volkelt: *System der Aesthetik*, III. 465. ff.

67. Mahābhārata: As'vamēdha Parvan, 13:
"*Yo mām* (=*kāmam*) *prayatate hantum mokṣam āsthāya paṇḍitaḥ*
Tasya mokṣa ratisthasya nṛtyāmi ca hasāmi ca"

68. *Bhagavad Gītā*: III. 17.
"*Yas tvātma ratir eva syād ātma tṛptas'ca mānavaḥ.*
Ātmany eva ca santuṣṭas tasya kāryam na vidyate."

69. *Cf.* Abh.Bh.I. 336-337.

70. Mahābhārata: S'ānti Parvan:
"*S'reyaḥ puṣpa phalam kāṣṭhāt kāmo dharmārthayorvaraḥ*
Kāmo dharmārthayor yoniḥ kāmaścātha tadātmakaḥ."
Cf. Jayamanalā: p. 1.
"*Tatra dharmārthayoḥ hetutvat kāma eva phala bhūtaḥ prakṛṣṭaḥ puruṣārtha iti kāmavādinaḥ.*"

This is a love where the sensuous aspect is sublimated, is contained and comprehended in a supra-relational principle. As such it becomes the epitome of all *rasās*.[71] Conceived in this light there is no difference between this love and the æsthetic experience. In the romantic art-form therefore Reality is comprehended by the individual subject as love and this is the ideal of romantic art.[72] Without this love which reveals itself as æsthetic sympathy (*citta saṁvāda*) no experience of beauty is possible. Some æstheticians therefore have gone to the extent of saying that beauty is love apprehending itself, for 'love' here is a demand for union. Thus Hartmann speaks of beauty as "the life of love apprehending its own ground and purpose in the idea."[73]

But as an æsthetic category we have the same love as undergoing a self-limitation because of which it rings with the strange and mysterious echoes of a deeper world. It offers primarily a lover and his beloved. If this love is directed only towards the alleviation of the sexual passions, it functions purely as an emotion and not as an enduring principle of thought or action. Consequently we have to interpret this love as wider than the sexual.[74] It endures from the beginning till the end. In Abhijñāna S'ākuntalam, for instance, we apprehend it in the first act; but it is not over after the third act, for it is seen to endure in a better and more dignified way at the end of the play. The artist brings the empirical love and instals it in the æsthetic environment.[75] Here it is transmuted into the æsthetic consciousness of the individuals.

A mere æsthetic presentation of love as a pleasant experience is dull and insipid, since love as an æsthetic state is an enduring entity. To endure it should remain unchanged despite change in the environment. In other words, as an æsthetic it endures out of

71. Ratnāpana, p. 44.
"*Rasa sārvabhaumaḥ s'ṛngāraḥ.*"
72. Hegel : *Aesthetik*, II. 150.
73. *Ibid.* II. 148 ff.
74. *Abb, Bh.* I.303.
75. "*Kavir hi laukika rati vāsanānuviddhas tathā vibhāvādin āharati, nāṭyam cānubhāvān...........*" (*Ibid.*)

a conflict. Such a conflict is provided by the separation of the lovers called *vipralambha*. Love therefore is no æsthetic category if it does not involve this separation and the accompanying conflict.[76] But the moment we recognise a conflict in love we are accepting the presence of the tragic. Yet the state of love in separation is distinct from that of the tragic or the pathetic. In the tragic situation involving love the feeling and thought of the individuals are negative in character since the yearnings of the soul are not to be satisfied or fulfilled. But in love involving the tragic the feelings are positive.[77]

This love as an æsthetic embodiment savours of that sweetness which is called '*mādhurya*' and which constitutes its dominant characteristic. Ānandavardhana observes :

" *S'ṛngāra ēva madhuraḥ paraḥ prahlādano rasaḥ*
tanmayam kāvyam ās'rītya mādhuryam pratitiṣṭhati "[78]

From the standpoint of the experiencing individual it is delightful. This delectability is greater in *vipralambha* and greatest in the tragic (*karuṇa*).[79] In these three phases of æsthetic experience there is that transformation of the self which is popularly called melting of the heart but which in essence is a sympathetic expansion and illumination of the self. When the exclusiveness (*anāviṣṭātmakam*) and attachments (*rāgitvam*) of the self are given up, there arises an all inclusive and impersonal experience which is said to be felt as '*mādhurya*.'[80]

(*To be continued*)

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76. *Abh. Bh.* I. 309 :
" *Tena viraheṇa kṛtaḥ suṣṭhutamām proṣita iti dars'ayan munir, anena vinā s'ṛngārena prayogena kāvye, hṛdyatām avalambata iti dars'ayati.*"
77. See Nāṭya S'āstra, I. 311.
78. Dhvanyāloka, p. 205.
79. *Ibid.* P. 207 :
" *S'ṛngāre vipralambhākhyē karuṇē ca prakarṣavat mādhuryam ārdratām yāti yatas tatrādhikam manaḥ.*"
80. See Locana, pp. 207-208.

HIS HOLINESS
SRI SRI SRI CANDRASEKHARA BHARATI SVAMIGALAVARU
THE JAGADGURU OF SRINGERI

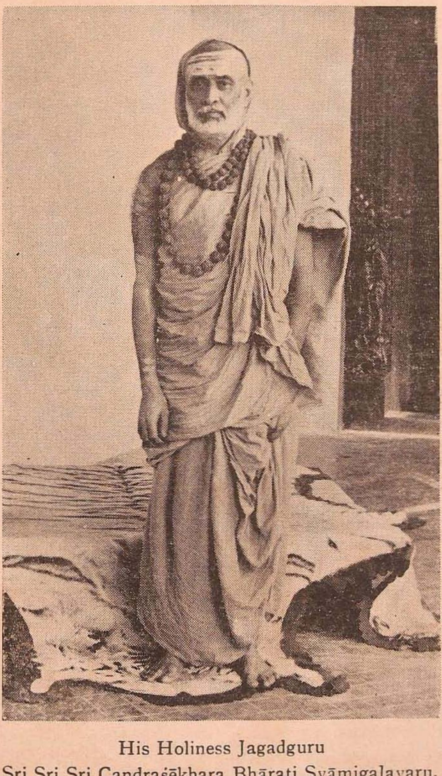
THE disappearance of His Holiness S'rī S'rī S'rī Candras'ēkhara Bhārathi Svāmigaḷavaru of revered memory by entering into the static state of *samādhi* at 5.30 A.M. on Monday the fifteenth day of the dark half of the month of *Bhādrapada* of the year *Jaya S'.S'.* 1876 (26-9-1954) has taken away from our midst the foremost personality of *advaita* thought and cast a gloom over the cultured and civilised world.

In true apostolic succession with an unbroken record for over 1,200 years—a very rare thing indeed — S'rī S'rī S'rī Candras'ē-khara Bhārati Svāmigaḷavaru, the thirty-fourth *guru* from S'rī Ādi S'aṅkaracārya, enjoyed, in an ever increasing degree, the regard and esteem of the whole world, as tributes paid to him during these weeks after his departure adequately indicate. It would therefore be appropriate to present an idea of the importance of S'riṅgeri in the progress of religious and philosophical thought.

The town of S'riṅgeri lies in 13° 25′ North latitude and 75° 19′ East longitude in a charming and picturesque spot at a height of 2439 feet above the sea level enclosed with a girdle of mountain ranges on the left bank of the river Tunga. This river takes its birth in the *Varāha parvata* or the *Candradrōṇa parvata*, popularly known in later times as the Bababudan range of hills, in a crescent form in the Western Ghauts in the south-west of the State of Mysore. The Jahagīr of S'riṇgeri is somewhat circular in shape, with a diameter of seven miles. Devoted to the goddess of learning, Sarasvatī, it has a very high percentage of literacy. The name of S'riṅgeri is associated with the great sage Ṛsyaṣṛnga and commemorates his birth at the hermitage of his illustrious father Vibhāndaka maharṣi who according to tradition performed penance here in the epic period of the Rāmāyaṇa. Vibhāndaka, son of Kas'yapa, selected this place for his *tapas* on the

advice of his father as the spot where the river flows in three directions. During the course of the penance, of an evening, the celestial nymph, Ūrvasī attempted to distract his attention away from his *tapas* which was convulsing the world. The sage was then making his ablutions and prayers in the river Tunga and a doe came to drink the water contaminated by their union and gave birth to a human male child with the horns of a deer. It was this child which later came to be known as the sage Ṛṣyaṣṛnga. The Mallikārjuna temple in S'riṅgeri which was built in his memory is one of the important shrines in the locality. A curious and interesting tradition is described in the S'riṅgēs'vara temple at Kigga closeby. There was, once upon a time, an acute drought in the kingdom of Aṅga near West Bengal over which Rōmapāda ruled. To help get rain, inspired by the gods and the great sages, Ṛṣyaṣṛnga was approached in S'riṅgeri and was taken in a palanquin formed by the arms of damsels who had gone to bring him and supported by two antelopes.

Whether S'riṅgeri in earlier times was a *Jangama* or *Jaina* stronghold before it became the centre of the *advaita* school of thought is not clear. From the vogue of the s'akti worship in those parts even today and the then prevalence of the Kāḷāmukhas in the region, not improbably, it was a great meeting place of s'akti worshippers. It was, possibly on this account, S'rī S'aṅkaracārya, of hallowed and revered memory, in the latter half of the eighth century A.D. came here and established the great *advaita* matha in the *dakṣina āmnāya pītha* for the spreading and propagation of the tenets of *advaiṭa* and installed S'rī S'ārada Dēvī here. S'rī S'aṅkaracārya spiritualised the masses, propounded and expounded the mystery concerning the *mahāvākya* of *tattvamasi*. For several centuries from then on, till the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire, there is very little evidence of what was taking place in S'riṅgeri. The ascetic dwellers of S'riṅgeri as elsewhere could not have interested themselves in the political disturbances, upheavals and commotions which time and again overtook the country changing hands betweeen rulers of different rival kingdoms in the south of India. Even the great campaigns of



His Holiness Jagadguru
Sri Sri Sri Candraśēkhara Bhārati Svāmigaḷavaru.

Abhinava Vidyā Thīrtha
Mahāsvāmi
Jagadguru: 16-10-1954

Candraśēkhara Bhārati
Svāmigaḷavaru
Jagadguru: 7-4-1912 to 26-9-1954

Allauddin and Malik Kāfur do not appear to have entered the fringe of S'ringeri though Dōrasamudra the capital of the Hoysaḷa Empire was sacked by Malik Kāfur. There is no doubt, however, that during the course of the centuries after S'aṅkara, S'ringeri was gaining in importance and prestige as the spiritual centre of learning and advancement in religious and philosophical thought even as Kāñchī itself before and after. In the fourteenth century, the sage Vidyās'aṅkara played a prominent and notable part in the resuscitation of Hinduism and in the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire in 1336 A.D. A general study of the inscriptions, the numerous grants and *nirūpas* from the Vijayanagara Emperors onwards to Tippu Sultan and the Mysore Rājas made to the S'ringeri matha shows that in this *mūru sāvira sīmē* or the country of the three thousand the rulers considered it an honour and a duty to go to S'ringeri and pay homage to the revered *gurūs* there time after time and make grants of land for the upkeep of the *saṁsthāna* and maintenance of worship there. S'ringeri is the oldest institution of the kind in India and perhaps one of the oldest in the world, which is solely concerned to point out to man the pathway to reality.

The *gurūs* of the S'ringeri matha have been known as *Karnātaka simhāsana pratiṣṭāpanācāryas* and *S'rī Vidyās'aṅkara pāda padma āradhakas* from one of the great pontiffs of S'ringeri in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. S'ringeri developed into a State within a State and whatever the consequences of political vicissitudes, S'ringeri has continued as a great religious and spiritual centre. It was to such a *pītha* S'rī S'rī S'rī Candras'ēkhara Bhārati Svāmigaḷavaru was installed at the suggestion of S'rīmat Sacchidānanda S'ivābhinava Nṛsimhabhārati Svāmigaḷavaru of revered memory in the year 1912.

The influence exercised by the mutts as centres of learning on the religious and other literature of the country has been universally accepted as a most sanctifying aspect of enlightenment, of civilisation and of culture. S'ringeri has ever been a temple of learning to subdue ignorance and spread the development of the human personality. It is singularly free from the propagation of

antagonistic religious doctrines, rivalries and jealousies which disfigure the otherwise placid waters of public life in a state. As the foremost centre of theological learning, founded by S'rī Sankaracārya for the exposition of *advaita* philosophy, S'ringeri proclaims the oneness of the reality in the universe. S'riṅgeri is situated in the State of Mysore, the very home of toleration, and admirably placed for spiritual advancement and the study of comparative religions and philosophy for ages. It promotes the conception of a culturally united India and endeavours the fulfilment of all religions and religious aspirations, aiming at the happiness of mankind. It is exclusively devoted to minister to the spiritual needs of the people and is a great Hindu spiritual guide and a living force.

The varied and well-known contributions of the famous S'rī Vidyāraṇya Mahāsvami and under his auspices, are among the most conspicuous examples of the development of philosophical thought in the world and there is scarcely a branch of learning considered as important to which valuable additions have not been made by them. It is to the commentaries of S'rī Vidyāraṇya that the modern world owes its knowledge of the traditional meaning of the oldest of the sacred books, the Ṛgveda. The influence of the mutts like that of S'riṅgeri on Dravidian literature has been considerable. The pontiffs of S'riṅgeri who are universally respected and venerated for their asceticism and learning and piety possess the esteem of the community and adequately minister to the their spiritual wants.

There is a certain hallow concerning the *Jagadgurūs* of S'riṅgeri and you feel as if you are before the divine presence. When I had the good fortune of entering into the presence of His Holiness S'rimat Sacchidānanda S'ivābhinava Nṛsimhabhārati Svāmigaḷavaru at Mysore in 1907, immediately he saw me he recognised me and mentioned that, when I was at S'riṅgeri as a child of three with my father, he was on tour—a fact which surprised me at the moment as I did not know it then. Likewise in 1941 after a visit to Nerur near Karur where the *avadhuta*, S'rī Sadās'iva Brahma attained *samādhi*, I went to S'riṅgeri and was awaiting a *darṣan* of His Holiness. S'rī

Svāmiji came out of his seclusion for the benefit of his disciples and on seeing me said that he was so pleased that I had gone to Nerur and had offered my prayers at the *samādhi* of Sadās'iva Brahma. The very name of Sadās'iva Brahma inspires us. His Holiness S'rīmat Sacchidānanda S'ivābhinava Nṛsimhabhārati Svāmigaḷavaru, at the *samādhi* of Sadās'iva Brahma, composed a hundred verses in praise of him on the spot. At Mohinur on the opposite bank of the river Kāvērī was established a S'aṅkara maṭha by His Holiness S'rī S'rī S'rī Candras'ēkhara Bhārati Svāmigaḷavaru. Such is the sage whose departure from this transitory and temporary world we mourn. He has not gone, he is not lost to us but he is in another place devoting himself to our uplift and contemplating upon our varying moods.

His Holiness S'rī S'rī S'rī Candras'ēkhara Bhārati Svāmigaḷavaru was born in a respectable and scholarly family in S'riṅgeri on Sunday the eleventh day of the dark half of the month of *āsvayuja* in the year *Nandana S'. S'.* 1814 (16-10-1892). His father S'rī Gopalakrishna S'āstri and his mother S'rīmati Lakṣamma had fourteen children and on the death of thirteen, they decided to dedicate him to the service of the matha. The *svāmigaḷavaru* had his early education at S'rīṅgeri. Hardly twelve in age he showed inclination for higher studies in Sanskrit. He received his education from eminent scholars, prominent amongst whom was the late Mahamahōpādhyāya Kuppaswami Sastriar, the well-known orientalist. S'rīmat Sacchidananda S'ivābhinava Nṛsimhabhārathi Svāmigaḷavaru who knew that this person, S'rī Narasimha S'āstry, as he was then, would be the person to succeed him to the *gurupītha*, sent for him for being installed but before he could return to S'rīṅgeri, S'rīmat Sacchidānanda S'ivābhinava Nṛsimhabhārati Svāmigaḷavaru had entered *samādhi* and on Snnday the sixth day of the dark half of the month of *Caitra* of the years *Virōdhikṛtu S'. S'.* 1834 (7-4-1912) S'rī S'rī S'rī Candras'ēkhara Bhārati Svāmigaḷavaru was initiated into *sannyāsa* and installed as Jagadguru when he was twenty years old. The svāmiji undertook an all-India tour in the years 1924 to 1927. In 1939 he went on a pilgrimage to Kālati, the birth-place of S'rī S'aṅkaracārya. Last year his *s'aṣṭyābdhipurti* was performed

when he had discorded all pomp and granduer due to his person as the *pīthādhipathī* of the great matha and the *Jagadguru*. He desired to go to Kālati and settle down in continued penance untramelled by the cares of the matha.

In August last, the President of our Indian Republic, Dr. Rajendra Prasad visited the S'riṅgeri matha and was received with all honours of the matha including the *Pūrṇa Kumbha*. Both the President and the Svāmiji had conversations on religious and spiritual topics. The Svāmiji bestowed his grace and blessings on the President, himself a very pious and high-souled householder universally respected for his learning, loyalty and devotion to the State.

A deep scholar in Hindu philosophy, gentle, genial, affectionate and venerated by all sections and classes of the people, S'rī S'rī S'ri Candras'ēkhara Bhārati Svāmigaḷavaru has left his mortal frame for blessing humanity from above. Thus has seemingly departed from us, a great leader of extraordinary spiritual powers, who gave relief to the sick in body and mind and who guards us and protects us against the frailties of the world and to whose teaching we can always look forward with hope, confidence and satisfaction.

S'ānti, S'ānti, S'āntiḥ.

S. SRIKANTAYA

REVIEW

The Mahābhārata—Critical Edition. S'ānti Parvan. Fascicule 23. Mokṣadharma, Part 2. EDITED BY S. K. BELVALKAR. Published by The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Poona-4.

This part covers Mahābhārata 12-226 to 12-293 adhyāyās corresponding to Calcutta edition 12-8589 to 11322 slokas, Bombay edition 12-235 to 305 and Kumbakonam edition 12-240 to 310. Starred passages number from 674 to 759 inclusive and no long passage is reserved for the appendix. The critical material and the underlined words indicative of reconstructed text, less than certain, evidence the same high degree of care and attention, as in the previous fascicule of S'ānti Parvan, edited by Dr. S K. Belvalkar who is also the General Editor since April 1943. We reserve our detailed review for the final fascicule on this parvan.

A.V.R.

AN APPEAL

We appeal to our readers to furnish us the dynastic lists of the States in India, heitherto unpublished. In particular, the lists of Kolattīri Rājas (Chirakkal Rājas) of North Malabar and the Bangar and the Hegde kings of Tuluva giving the names of the rulers in order of their succession with dates, if possible.

ED.

AVANTISUNDARI KATHA
(A New Edition)

We are glad to announce that a new edition of Daṇḍin's Avantisundarī Kathā is being published by S'ūranād Kunjan Pillai, Honorary Director, Manuscript Library, University of Travancore, Trivandrum. A fragment of Avantisundarī Kathā was published by Sri. M. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi in 1924 based on a fragmentary and incomplete manuscript discovered from Kōṭṭakkal, Malabar. The present edition which we look forward to with eager interest while it is also defective and fragmentary and incomplete is based on a far fuller manuscript. We are told that the work runs to 246 pages in print and carries the story to the narration of the tale of Kādambarī by Mandākinī thus covering nearly half of the story in the Pūrvapīṭhika of the Das'akumāracarita.

The work will undoubtedly be of very great interest to scholars and students who are familiar with the celebrated rhetorician and sanskrit story-teller, Daṇḍin, a much discussed personality. That he was the author of Kāvyādars'a is undisputed and possibly he wrote Das'akumāracarita also. The introduction of this new edition discusses in detail the question of the identification of the authorship of Candōviciti, Avantisundarī Kathā is here specifically attributed to Daṇḍin but Rājas'ēkhara does not refer to it: again, is the author of Das'akumāracarita the same as the author of Avantisudarī Kathā? Sri Pillai will be expounding the identity of the authorship of both with Daṇḍin following the colophon in these two works and the tradition throwing fresh light from an old Sanskrit work Abhijñāna S'ākuntala Carcā, by an anonymous author, now being published in the Sanskrit Journal of the Travancore University Manuscript Library.

Students are aware of Keith's opinion that the author of Avantisundarī Kathā and Das'akumāracarita is not one and the same person and that the author of Das'akumāracarita must have lived far later than Daṇḍin's time. Accepting this view S.K.De, Prof. P. V. Kane and others have expressed different opinions. We look forward to see how these will be reconciled with that of the author and on what data these divergent views will be dealt with.

S. S.

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